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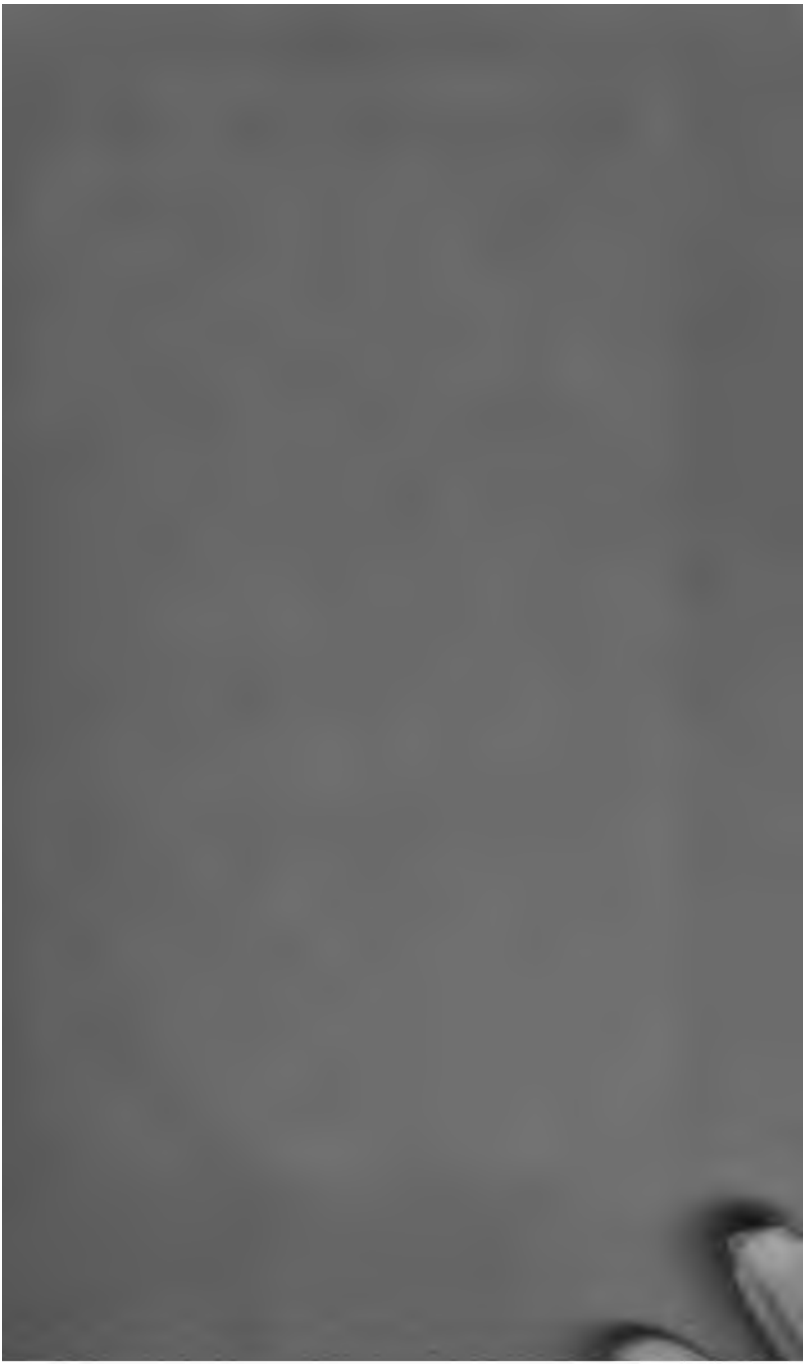

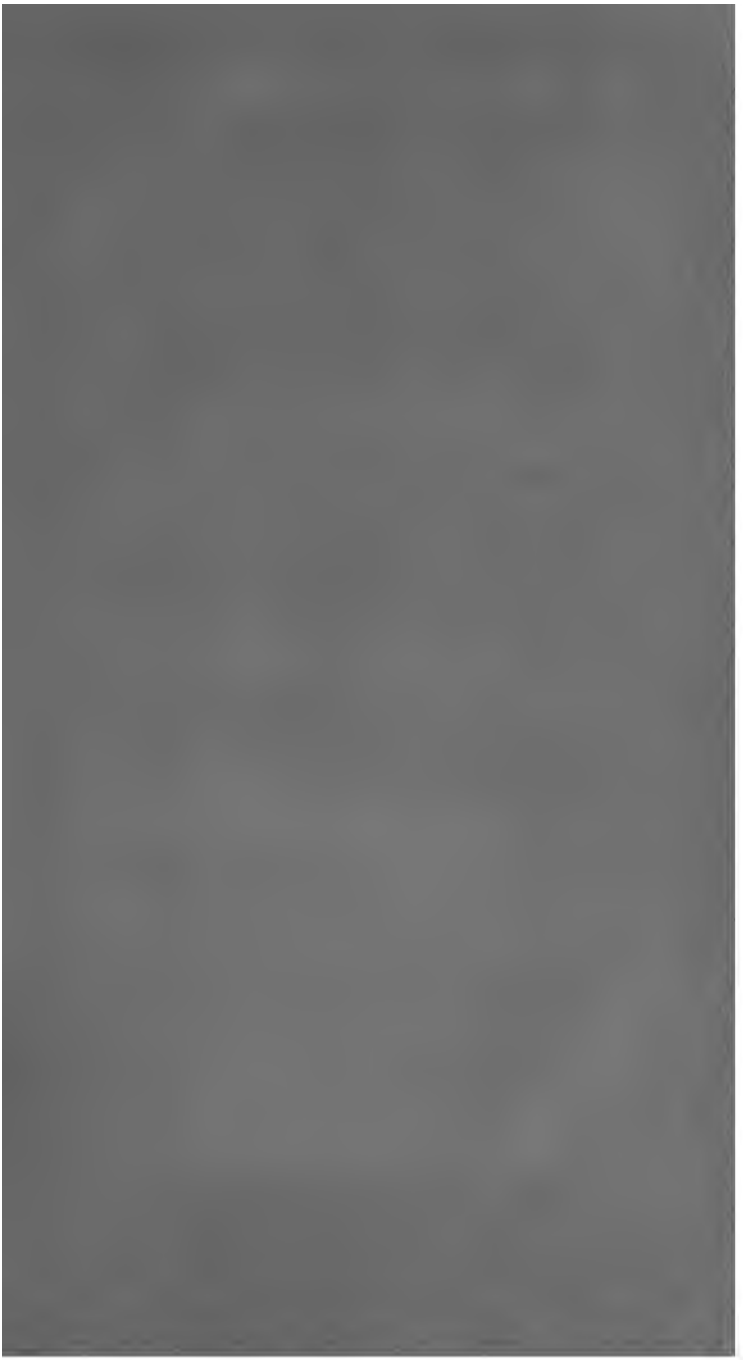

THE WHOLE

WORKS

OF

Walter Moyle, Eſq;

That were Publiſhed by HIMSELF.

To which is prefixed

Some Account of his LIFE and WRITINGS.

LONDON:

Printed for J. KNAPTON, A. BETTESWORTH, E. CURLL, J. PEMBERTON, and J. BATLEY. M.DCC.XXVII.

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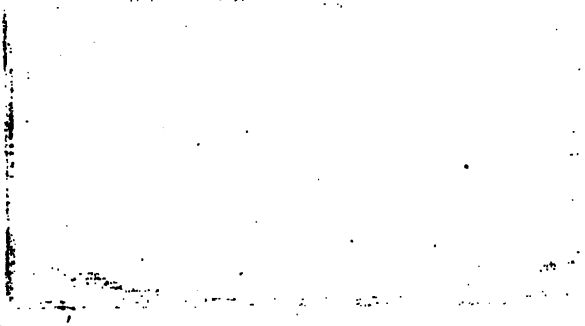

Director
David
4-17-51
74448

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

The Lord Viſcount

TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

AS theſe WRITINGS of Mr. MOYLE, chiefly conſiſt in a Defence of our CONSTITUTION; the united Voice of the publick will declare that they cannot fall under any Patronage

4-24-51 mwb

age ſo proper as that of a TOWNSHEND, or a WALPOLE.

The Principles of an *Engliſhman*, my Lord, are not to be dignified or diſtinguiſhed by any Name, tho' were ſuch an Attempt made, where either of Two appear, *Pater Patriæ* muſt be the immediate Deduction.

I ſhall not enter into a Detail of your LORDSHIP's Virtues, it is ſufficient to ſay, that all the Honours you enjoy are beneath your Merit; and as the Motive of this Addreſs

dreſs is an Acknowledgment for Favours received; ſo the greateſt that is even in your LORDSHIP's Power farther to confer, is, to permit the Declaration I here make, to remain as a perpetual Monument of my Gratitude.

I am my Lord, with the

moſt profound Reſpect,

Your Lordſhip's

moſt devoted

and moſt obedient

Humble Servant,

E. C.

INTRODUCTION.

Giving ſome Account of Mr. MOYLE and his WRITINGS.

THE principal Intention of collecting theſe Pieces was to do Juſtice to the Memory of the late Mr. MOYLE. It was looked upon as a very injurious Behaviour, that when his *Poſthumous-Works* came from the Preſs, theſe valuable Tracts of his, which were printed in his Life-time and paſt his laſt Hand, ſhould be dropt, as it were, in Oblivion; as they muſt have been, had they continued covered in thoſe Volumes wherein they were by himſelf, originally interſperſed.

This is a Treatment which it has been obſerved ſeveral great Authors have met with by ſome ignorant or careleſs modern Editors. At preſent we ſhall give Inſtances but of two of that Nature, Sir JOHN DAVIS and Dr. DONNE's *Poems*, the late Editions of which are not only the worſt of what were before publiſhed, but the Editors have been pleaſed to *drop* ſeveral of their fineſt *Pieces*, and *curtail* others, they beſt knew whether their falling into this *mangling Work* did not proceed from the low view of ſaving a little Money.

In putting theſe Tracts together, it was thought neceſſary to give them ſome ſort of Coherence; in order to which, a ſhort Account of Mr. MOYLE's Life and Character, as a Writer, is offered.

WALTER

WALTER MOYLE *Esq*; was born in *Cornwal* 1672. And after a great Advancement in the politeſt Acquiſitions in School Learning, he finiſhed his Studies in the Univerſity of *Oxford*. From thence he was by his Father, Sir WALTER MOYLE, removed to the *Temple*, where he applied himſelf chiefly to the general and more noble parts of our Law, ſuch as led him into the Knowledge of the Conſtitution of our Government; there was a Drudgery in what he called *Law-Lucrative* which he could never ſubmit to.

My Acquaintance with him began in the latter end of the Year 1690. which was ſoon after I returned from a ſhort Tour I had made into *Holland* and ſome part of *Flanders*. It was Sir *Robert Marſham*, the younger Son of the learn-

ed Sir *John Marſham*, who brought us together.

He came into the World with a firm Zeal for the *Proteſtant-Settlement*, and a great Contempt for thoſe who were capable of imagining that the Liberty of our Conſtitution and the Reformation could ſubſiſt under a Popiſh King; nor did he ever vary from theſe Sentiments. My Acquaintance with him continued without Interruption till I went into *Spain* in the Year 1711.

As he was a Man who judged and ſpoke freely of Things and Perſons, he was a little apt, as Occaſion offered, to diſtinguiſh between the *King* and ſome of his *Miniſters*; between the *Legal Eſtabliſhed Government*, and the *Intereſt* of a *Party*. In this ſome of his Friends did not always go along with him, though to the beſt of my remembrance

membrance I ſeldom varied from him. From a ſet of Company, of Learned and Ingenious Gentlemen, who frequented *Manwayring*'s-*Coffee-Houſe* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, he fell much into the Converſation of Gentlemen at the *Grecian-Coffee-Houſe* near the *Temple*. Some Diſguſt he took there, againſt the Clergy; which happened to be the Subject of frequent but friendly Diſputes between us. Here, he had a Share with Mr. *Trenchard* in Writing the *Argument* againſt a *Standing Army*, which has furniſhed the Materials for many a Speech and many a Pamphlet ever ſince.

To be nearer the more entertaining part of the Town, he removed to *Covent-Garden*. Here it was, (as Mr. *Dryden* declares ‡) that *the Learning and Judgment, above his Age, which*

‡ *See*, his LIFE of LUCIAN.

every one diſcovered in Mr. Moyle, *were Proofs of thoſe Abilities he has ſhewn in his Country's Service, when he was choſe to ſerve it in the* Senate, *as his Father* Sir Walter *had done.*

In the Year 1697, at the requeſt of Dr. *D'Avenant*, he tranſlated *Xenophon's Tract* upon *Improving* the *Revenue* of the *State* of *Athens*, and ſent it to him. It was annexed to his *Diſcourſes* on the *Publick Revenues*, and on the *Trade* of *England* 8vo. in the 34*th* and 35*th* page whereof he gives the following Account of Mr. *Moyle's* Performance. "It was made *Engliſh*, ſays Dr. "*D'Avenant*, by a young Gentleman "whoſe Learning and ripe Parts pro- "miſe greater Matters hereafter; ſince, "in this *firſt Eſſay* he has ſhewn him- "ſelf ſo great a Maſter, both in his "*own* and the *Greek* Language. And

"it

" it is hoped this Example will incite " other Perſons in his Poſt, of his Age*, " Rank and Fortune to ſtudy the *Buſi-* " *neſs* of *Trade* and the *Revenues* of " their *Country*. The *Original* is high- " ly eſteemed by all the learned World, " and the Reader will find *Xenophon* " has ſuffered nothing in this *Verſion*.

To this we may add, that his cloſe Application to theſe parts of ſolid and uſeful Learning will be farther confirmed by the following Letters; which we have choſen to publiſh in this place, as well to ſhew his Diſpoſition (to what he judged to be) for the Welfare of his Country, and at the ſame time to illuſtrate the proper Method of Study which he at ſo early an Age was fallen into.

* Mr. *Moyle* was then but in his 26th Year.

Bake near *Loo* in Cornwal.

Jan. 14. 169⅝.

Dear HAMMOND,

I *Hear with great Joy of your noble Proceedings in the* Houſe *of* Commons, *and ſhould be extremely glad if you would ſometimes rob from the Publick an half hour in Writing ſuch welcome News to one who longs with much Impatience to hear an account of things from ſo good a Hand. Of old, in our Days of Pleaſure, we uſed to communicate our Joys and our Afflictions, but ſince thoſe Days are over, and a dull Scene of Buſineſs ſucceeds, let us ſtill keep up the Forms of an agreeable Correſpondence. Pleaſures vary with each different*

different Age, for God and Nature never made any Faculty either in Soul or Body, but prepared a ſuitable Object in order to its regular Gratification. Succeſs in Buſineſs diverts the Spleen, that would now and then break in upon us in Retirement: It touches the Paſſions, and gives an Agitation of the Mind, that carries along with it ſome Reſemblance of our earlier and livelier Pleaſures, eſpecially when the publick Good is accompanied with ſatisfying a juſt tho' private Reſentment. I would not conſtrain you to the Drudgery of a regular Correſpondence, but only a Letter ſometimes upon a great Flight in the Houſe, *as* Wymondſolde *expreſſes it.*

You deſired, I remember, a Series of Authors for the Grecian *Hiſtory, take them in Order of Time as follows,* viz.

I. Hero-

and inſtructive Author, but more a States-man than an Hiſtorian. I am ſorry our Acquaintance Sir Henry Sheers, *who has given the* Engliſh *World a Tranſlation of him, underſtood* French *ſo well, and* Greek *ſo ill, but I will ſay no more.*

V. DIODORUS SICULUS, *who lived in the Time of* AUGUSTUS, *is moſt valuable for his* Collections *out of other* Authors, *moſt of which are now loſt.*

VI. DYONISIUS HALICARNASSEUS *is ſolid, learned and judicious; He underſtood the* Conſtitution *of the* Roman Government, *and the* Cuſtoms *of* Rome, *better than the* Romans *themſelves.*

VII. PLUTARCH *wants* no Character, *and you are too well acquainted with him to receive* any *from me; his Hiſto-*

rical Parts muſt be read as they fall into the Order of Time.

VIII. *Of the reſt, I ſhall only now mention,* APPIAN *and* DION CASSIUS, *the* firſt *of them makes large Depredations on the* Greek Hiſtorians, *who lived and wrote before his Time; and the* latter *I am angry with, becauſe he ſeems to delight in Improbabilities. Of his* Books, Thirty Four *are loſt, and* Twenty Six *only remain.* XIPHILIN, *who was Patriarch of* Conſtantinople, *and died* A. D. 1080, *made a* Compendium *of his* laſt Books, *which ſtill remain.*

Pray give my humble Service to Sir Walter Clarges, Jack Tredenham, Wymondſolde, *and* Dr. *B*——.

I am Your moſt
Humble Servant,
W. MOYLE.

Bake,

Bake, Feb. 7. 169⅘.

Dear HAMMOND,

I Was very agreeably ſurprized with your Vote againſt the Admiralty, which will certainly be the Fore-runner of the Downfal of the baffled Party. Now you have made a Breach upon the Body, it will be eaſy to hunt them ſingly from the Herd, and run them down as you pleaſe. Miniſtry-Hunting *is a noble Sport, and I am ſorry I am out at the Chace! It is wiſely done of you to fleſh your young Members with an eaſy Prey, and reſerve the Lords of the Treaſury for the laſt Triumph of the Seſſions. But what in the Name of Wonder is become of this terrible Party, that carried all before them laſt Seſſion, what has reduced*

reduced them to this low Ebb? Have they loſt their Wiſdom with Goodwin Wharton's *Apoplexy, or their Wit with* Harry Mordaunt? *Is all their Eloquence fled with Sir* Harry Hobart, *or all their Impudence ſhipt away with* Norris *to the* Eaſt-Indies? *whatever they have loſt in theſe Gentlemen, I believe they will gain little by the Apoſtacy of that* Welch-Owl *who was for* reforming *the* Nation *by a* Standing Army, *and* Dragooning *us into* Morality. Jack Tredenham *writes me, that the Coxcomb has had another Repulſe from the Houſe, who, I hope, will ſtill continue in the Pious Reſolution of enacting no* Penal Laws *againſt our* Pleaſures. *I find, by the printed News, that* Duncomb's *Tryal* (*in* Weſtminſter-Hall) *is to come on this Week. I wiſh him a good Deliverance with all my heart, I love him be-*

cauſe the Court purſues him with ſuch implacable Malice for having the Impudence laſt Seſſion to defend *his* Honour, *which he told us was dearer to him than his* Life, *and to* ſave *his* Eſtate *which is dearer to him than either, againſt the Will and Pleaſure of an inſolent Upſtart. It is ſomething like a Story I read lately in* Cicero. " *When* Ma-
" rius *the Head of the* Whig *Faction in*
" Rome, *like a true Patriot, had ſack-*
" *ed the City,* &c. *among other Out-*
" *rages, one of his Ruffians ſtabbed a*
" *Man of Quality, but the Wound*
" *not proving mortal, he brought his*
" *Action againſt him,* Quòd ferrum ma-
" lignè reciperat, *for not taking the*
" *Thruſt up to the Hilts.*" *This is exactly* Duncomb's *Caſe. And puts me in mind of a Queſtion I had forgot to Anſwer,* viz. *what Books I was read-*

ing.

ing. I ſtudy nothing but the Roman Hiſtory *and the* Conſtitution *of their* Government ‡, *which is a more agreeable amuſement, tho' not ſo profitable a ſtudy as what* Salway Winnington *is embarked in, which may qualify him upon the next Vacancy to be a Lord of the Treaſury.*

Give my Service to Jack Tredenham, *tell him I will anſwer his Letter, God willing, next Poſt. Pray give my Service to my Lord* Peterborough, *I hear he behaved himſelf like an* Engliſhman *in the Houſe of Lords.*

I am, &c.

W. MOYLE.

‡ The good effects of which are now ſhewn in his Excellent *Eſſay* upon the *Roman Government.* See, his *Poſthumous Works.* Vol. I. But the *Editor* is greatly miſtaken, in ſaying Mr. *Moyle* wrote that *Piece* in the *24th* Year of his Age, when it plainly appears that this *Letter* was written in the *27th.* So that this Editor's is meer *Hearſay* Evidence.

Nov. 1. 1699.

Dear HAMMOND,

THE World of late has been ſo barren of News, that I would not impoſe upon you the trouble of a Correſpondence that would give you ſo much pains, rather in gueſſing what ſhould happen hereafter, than inſtructing me in the preſent poſture of Affairs, which I fancy has been at a ſtand a good while. I have had nothing new from London *ſince the Sun and Moon balked the Aſtronomers, and ſince the memorable race of the Pig and the Page, the iſſue of which was ſurpriſing to our Country Gentlemen, tho' it was no wonder to me, who knew long ago that the King's*

King's Pages naturally hang an A—. *But now a new Scene is about to open* and a few days will diſcover whether the reſolute Aſſertors of our Liberties laſt Seſſion will tamely give them up the next. The D. of* Sh—— *coming in, is the greateſt riddle on the Earth to me. Is he once more to be placed at the head of a ſinking Party, or is he to be put again between the two Horns of the Monarch's Dilemma, the Seals, or the Tower? however he comes in, I am confident it will do good Service to our Cauſe next Seſſions, and let the Church Party ſee they are not like to be our Governors in the Miniſtry, and I hope for that reaſon they will be our Protectors in the Houſe of Commons.* D'Avenant *I hear is attacking the* Grants *of this* Reign *in*

* The Seſſion of Parliament opened the 16th of November, 1699.

a new Diſcourſe, which is an admirable Deſign, and may God bleſs it. I hope the Houſe will fall warmly on the Officers, and the Horſe that have been kept up to inflame the Charge and controul the Danger of a Standing Army. *For to be plain with you, I think your laſt Act ſignifies little to our real Security from an Army, it reduces the Army, but does not disband it. It keeps up the moſt dangerous and the moſt expenſive part of the Forces. In my humble opinion, you ought to make a new Bill, and grant the King as many Men as he had laſt Year, but you ſhould aſcertain the number of Regiments and Companies, which ſhould be as compleat as in the time of War, and conſequently the King would be obliged to break more* Corps, *which only makes an Army dangerous to Liberty in time*

of

of Peace. I beg your Pardon for this impertinent long Letter.

I am your moſt

affectionate Friend

and Servant,

W. MOYLE.

P. S. My Service to *D'Avenant* and *Fletcher.*

The laſt, of theſe *Letters*, ſhews how near the Liberty of his Country lay at his Heart, and that led him to read with ſo much Care Mr. *Nevil*'s *Plato Redivivus* (which he particularly mentions in his *Eſſay* on the *Lacedæmonian Government*) and that Piece occaſioned a Letter from a Friend of

his, which as it is luckily fallen into our Hands we hope we may be excuſed for inſerting it here.

TO WALTER MOYLE *Eſq;*

SIR,

YOUR mentioning Plato Redivivus, *in our late Converſation, has induced me once more to take a curſory Review of that Book, and to give you my Judgment of it; I think it is written with great Solidity, and ſhews a good extent of uſeful Reading upon Political Subjects; and we muſt allow, that ſetting aſide a little of the Formality which is incident to, and almoſt inſeparable from, the grave travelled Politician, I think it may paſs as a good Book*

Book among the ſevereſt Criticks. He ſeems to aſſume to himſelf the Honour of being the firſt Aſſertor of the great Political Maxim, That Empire is founded in Property, *but however this be, we muſt do him the Right to declare that the late Happy Revolution has brought ſuch a Change in our Conſtitution in thoſe ſeveral Branches which he only wiſhed and propoſed to King* Charles II. *The condemning the illegal Diſpenſing Power, uſurped and exerciſed by King* James II. *has fixed the Legiſlature in King, Lords and Commons. The laying the whole Proceedings of the War before the Parliament, has regulated the Prerogative of declaring Peace and War, ſo, as that it can never with Safety or common Prudence be exerciſed but by conſent of Parliament. The late great Work of remedy-*

ing the ill State of the Coin has taken away all pretence from the Crown of raiſing or lowering the Value of our Money, either in Weight, Fineneſs or Denomination. The ſetling the Civil Liſt is the grand Point Mr. Nevil *hints at, though he is obliged to do it very nicely, for he wrote for the View of King* Charles II. *and you may be ſure his Royal Brother among the many Acquiſitions he had gained in foreign Parts, had fixed in his Mind a moſt terrible Idea of a* DOGE *of* Venice. *As for the naming and chuſing the great Officers of State, which is ſtill left to the Crown, it is not indeed exactly agreeable to Mr.* Nevil's *Scheme, but I may offer one Thing upon that Head, which is this, ſo long as we are under a neceſſity of annual Seſſions of Parliament, and that muſt be as long as the Care and Charge of making*

ing annual Proviſions for the Navy and the Guards and Garriſons lies upon the Parliament, we need not be very apprehenſive, that any Miniſters or Officers in high Stations will be able to hurt the Conſtitution, without ſome Animadverſion by way of Impeachment or Attainder by Parliament. That this Treatiſe was ill reliſhed by ſome very good Men when it firſt appeared in the World, proceeded only from their being under an Enchantment in a Circle of narrow Principles. A Mother who was a Royaliſt and a Father deſcended from a ſuffering Clergy-man for a Tutor, are very little qualified to inſtruct in the Nature of the Conſtitution of England, *or in the Rights and Privileges of the free-born Subject. In pag.* 252. *He is for having no Peer made but by Act of Parliament, if that Prerogati[illegible]'s exe[illegible]*

exerciſed ſo as to endanger the Government, it may deſerve future Conſideration. As for annual new Parliaments he did not conſider the ferment the Kingdom would be kept in by ſuch frequent Elections; like a Baker's-Oven the Nation would never be cool. Conſtant Appropriations of the Publick Money, as now, and as I hope will be for ever uſed with us, will pleaſe the Ghoſt of our departed Patriot. He was but weakly attacked by an Anſwer dedicated to King Charles II. *and ſigned* W. W. *The Title is,* Antidotum Britannicum; *or, a* Counter Peſt *againſt the deſtructive Principles of* Plato Redivivus. *Wherein his Majeſty's Royal Prerogatives are aſſerted, and the ancient Rights of the Imperial Crown of* England *are vindicated againſt all Innovations. I had almoſt forgot to tell you,*

that

that the Phyſician who has a part in Mr. Nevil's *Dialogue was, as I am informed, deſigned to repreſent the famous Dr.* Harvey *who relieved his abſtruſer Studies by Converſations in Politicks. I ſubmit it to your Thoughts how far the Property the King has now in the* 700,000 *l.* per Annum (*which is for Life*) *gives him a Weight and Power in the Government, equal to the ſhare the Kings of* England *had formerly in Land.*

I am,

Sir, *&c.*

Some time after this, Mr. Moyle came into Parliament, where he always acted a very honourable and diſintereſted Part; But

But he had made ſo great Advances in the moſt polite Branches of Learning, and was ſo bent upon thoſe Studies, that he never had any Reliſh for that Station. His Thoughts were rather turned upon making the beſt Advantages by Reading, eſpecially in Hiſtory, from which he collected the Forms, the Conſtitutions, and the Laws of Governments. He obſerved carefully the Revolutions and Changes they underwent, and not only the Events themſelves, but the ſecret Cauſes of them. However in Parliament, he applied himſelf to conſider the Improvement and Regulation of Trade, foreign and domeſtick; and likewiſe the Employment of the Poor, which has ſo near a Connection to the augmenting our domeſtick Trade.

It is worth our Notice, that in the Year 1704 there were *three* BILLS relating to the Poor depending at one time in Parliament; and yet very little has been done to this Day in a matter ſo neceſſary to the publick Welfare. Upon this Occaſion, he obſerved in the *Houſe* of *Commons*, " That though " Religion and Intereſt govern the " World, and when theſe happen to " interfere, the moſt part of Mankind " ſacrifice their Religion to their In- " tereſt; yet in relation to providing " for the Poor, we in *England* acted " contrary to both in this Inſtance, of " not relieving all that are really im- " potent, and in not employing all that " are capable of Employment; And " that in his Opinion the Government " was reſponſible for all thoſe, who " were reduced to the hard, and cri-

" minal

" minal neceſſity of Begging, or Steal-
" ing.

He took great pains in forwarding a BILL for the encouraging of Seamen and the effectual and ſpeedy Manning of the Royal Navy; And how little Progreſs has been made likewiſe in that neceſſary Work, the late Hurry we have been in, demonſtrates. " Mr. " MOYLE thought, that ſo many, " and ſo great Encouragements might " be given to our Seamen, that the " Crown need no more want Sailors " than the Revenue wants Officers to " collect it. " He made a Computation at that time of about 20,000 Naval Officers and of about 150,000 common Seamen, in all 170,000; He concluded that if a competent Number of theſe Men, were exempted from perſonal Arreſts, and their Perſons from being

being detained in Priſons; if they were exempted from the Pariſh Officers, and in ſome reſpects from Pariſh Duties; if there were by degrees proper Habitations provided for them; if the payment of their Wages were always made in Money, or in Bills, which ſhould be current in all the Branches of the Revenue; If theſe and many other Privileges and Advantages were granted to Sailors, he thought we could be never at a loſs for Seamen for the Royal Fleet. Theſe *two* important points took up many of his Thoughts and of our Converſation when they were almoſt every Seſſion recommended from the Throne to the Conſideration of the Parliament. He had a Beneficence and Humanity in his natural Diſpoſition, which was very uncommon; a more extenſive Charity

nor a truer Love to his Country was ſcarce to be found in any Man. This led him to obſerve; " that the *Obli-*
" *gation* to *Moral Duties* never ſtamp
" ſo clear a Conviction upon the
" *Mind*, never leave ſo ſtrong a Force
" upon the *Will*, as when there is im-
" planted a Natural Paſſion tending
" towards it, and giving incitements
" to it; " Thus he found that his innate Pity and Compaſſion did prepare and cultivate the Ground to receive the ſeeds of Charity, to the Poor. So founded in Nature, it becomes a Duty, and there muſt be no ſmall Degree of acquired Depravity to weaken our Senſe of the Obligation to it. As this great Duty is deducible from the firſt motions of Pity in our Souls, ſo the clearneſs of thoſe general Propoſitions into which it may be reſolved, ſoon brings it to

be an effect of *Reaſon* well informed. Then it takes yet deeper Root, and is not ſubject, or liable to be diſordered, or ſcattered by Ebbs and Flows of Paſſion, which depend too much upon the Motion of the Animal Spirits to form a conſtant and perpetual Diſpoſition of the *Will*. All theſe Motives concurred to make him a charitable Man, and a zealous Patriot.

He read all the Original Authors both *Greek* and *Latin*; And WE eſteemed thoſe to be Original Authors, who writ before the Birth of *Chriſt*, or about 440 Years after: From *Ann. Dom.* 440 to 1440 was a long, but dark Period of Time, and he aimed only to preſerve a Thread of the Hiſtory of that middle Age. The Schoolmen and Scholaſtick Divinity, which flouriſhed then, he neglected; But it appears that

in the latter part of his Life, he launched far into *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*. He made frequently a Review of the beſt Syſtems of all *Sciences*, being uſed to ſay; "That "it was neceſſary for every Man, who "applies himſelf to matters of Learn- "ing, to have a general Knowledge "of the Elements of *Them*;" And from hence, he was inceſſantly collecting Fundamental Maxims, and Right Diſtinctions and Diviſions in all Parts of Learning. It was early in his Life, that he was framing a Scheme, by which Books might be ſo diſpoſed in his Library, that they might give him even by their Diſpoſition a regular and uſeful View of all the ſeveral Walks of Learning and Knowledge. In order to this in the firſt Place, a Diſtribution of them was to be made into four grand Diviſions. The firſt of which ſhould contain

contain all that are *Theological.* The ſecond, *Law* in all its kinds. The third, *Sciences* and *Arts:* And the fourth, *Hiſtory.*

After this it will be found neceſſary to fix Books in a more particular Order; as for Inſtance, among thoſe of the firſt grand Diviſion, which is *Theology*, there muſt be placed diſtinctly, the *Holy Scriptures* and its *Expoſitors* together; then the *Councils*, *Fathers*, and the *Works* of the *Schoolmen* and of the more *Ancient* and *Modern* Divines.

For *Law*; they may be ranged under *three* Heads; firſt the *Law* of *Nature* and *Nations*, and the *Laws* of *particular foreign Countries*, Ancient and Modern. 2. The *Civil* and *Canon-Law.* 3. The *Common* and *Statute-Law* of our own Kingdom.

Under the third grand Diviſion of *Arts* and *Sciences* ſix Branches of Learning may be included, 1. *Philoſophy*, 2. *Phyſick*, 3. *Mathematicks*, 4. *Grammar*, including *Dictionaries*, &c. 5. *Rhetorick*. 6. *Poetry*.

Philoſophy is placed in this Diviſion firſt, and takes in *Ancient* and *Modern Philoſophy* with their reſpective Syſtems; *Natural Hiſtory*, *Logick*, *Ethicks*, *Politicks*, *Metaphyſicks*; But of theſe *three* laſt, it is to be underſtood, that the entire Syſtems of them are only to be ranged in this Diviſion; for many Books of *Ethicks* and *Metaphyſicks* will more properly fall under *Theology*, as *Politicks* will under *Law* and *Hiſtory*.

To *Phyſick Books* muſt be joined, *Anatomy* and *Chymiſtry*.

For *Mathematicks* he referred to an excellent Diviſion of them, into all its

larger and minuter Branches, in a little Tract of Mr. *Lewis Maidwell*'s, or in Mr. *John Dee*'s Mathematical Preface before EUCLID's *Elements*.

The Sub-diviſions of *Hiſtory* are very natural and eaſy, *Geography* and *Chronology* are previous to it, and never to be ſeparated from it. Hiſtorians are either Eccleſiaſtical: or, Profane. Ancient: or, Modern. General: or, Particular.

Mr. MOYLE ſeldom read an Author of any Note, but he made large Extracts; this appears by the diffuſive reading which is ſhewn in his Writings.

Diſcourſing once of the Cauſe of the Increaſe of Building, it was aſſigned to proceed from the natural Increaſe of Mankind, becauſe there are more born than die. *Increaſe* and *Multiply*, whether it was the firſt Bleſſing of the Creation, or the firſt Command, appears

eminently amongſt Mankind in every good Government, where Liberty and Property is well ſecured. Upon this Subject I received ſome *Excerpta* from Mr. MOYLE out of the Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale* On the Origination of Mankind; he obſerves that it may be ſufficiently proved by ſacred Hiſtory, that Man doth naturally increaſe; that the World was firſt peopled by the Increaſe from *Adam* and *Eve*, and after the Deluge re-peopled by *Noah* and his Sons, *Shem*, *Ham* and *Japhet*. This is illuſtrated by the particular Hiſtory of the Jews, who began from the ſingle Stock of *Abraham* by *Iſaac* and ſo from *Jacob*; and when *Moſes* numbred them at no longer diſtance of Time than about two hundred and ſixty Years from *Jacob*, they were above ſix hundred thouſand fighting Men, reckoning only

ly from twenty Years Old and upwards, beſides Women and Children; and at another Period, when numbred by *David*, which was about four hundred and fifty Years after, they were grown a very numerous and great Nation, being thirteen hundred thouſand fighting Men of *Judah* and *Iſrael*.

But Mr. *Moyle* farther obſerved, that the excellently learned and accurate Author abovementioned, in his Diſcourſe on this Subject, was not contented to rely wholly on Arguments drawn from the Authority of holy Writ, and therefore takes other Topicks to confirm the Relation of *Moſes* concerning the Beginning of the World, and the peopling of it by a natural Increaſe.

1. From the late Date of Hiſtory; There being no Authentick Hiſtory of any Tranſaction, that does not come

within the Compaſs of leſs than a thouſand Years before Chriſt, except the Hiſtory of *Moſes*, and none ſo old as his by ſeveral hundred Years, that treat of the beginning of Things.

2. From the Chronological Account of Times; That the *Aſſyrian*, *Egyptian*, and *Grecian* Accounts are to be found out in what Year of the World they began; the Three great *Æras* of Chronology are within thirty Years one from the other; the Unknown, the Fabulous and Hiſtorical Ages, was a Diviſion of Time as old as *Varro*, the moſt learned among the *Romans*.

3. From the beginning of the moſt Ancient Kingdoms; That *Rome* was built by *Romulus*, and ſo of other Founders of Empires.

4. From the firſt Invention of Arts; That the Times of the firſt Invention of

Agri-

Agriculture and making of Wine are as well known as the latter Inventions of Gunpowder and Printing are now among us.

5. From the Decays of human Nature; But how far this may be true, Mr. MOYLE left to a more nice Enquiry.

6. From the beginning of Religions; That the Time of the Inauguration of the Heathen Deities are known; as when *Jupiter*, *Bacchus* and *Æſculapius*, and the reſt of them, were but Men of great Renown, and for their good Deeds after their Death worſhipped.

7. From the beginning of the firſt Planters of the Continents and Iſlands of the World; as *Helenes* gave the Denomination to *Grecians* ſo called, *Pelaſgus* to the *Pelaſgi*, *Latinus* to the *Latins*, and the Country called *Latium*, *Italus* to the *Italians*; and theſe things

things are as certain as that the *Engliſh* gave name to *New-England* in *America*, and the Names of the Towns there *London* and *New-York*.

8. From the gradual Increaſe of Mankind; That conſidering the Time of his firſt Procreation, which is agreed to be about fifteen or ſixteen Years to the Time he gives over, which is about ſixty: It cannot be otherwiſe believed, but that in the ſpace of five and forty Years he muſt produce a very numerous Off-ſpring: And it is no wonder amongſt us, for one Perſon to ſee a hundred deſcended from him.

Afterwards Judge *Hale* comes to Obſervations of the Increaſe of the People of *England* in particular, by comparing the preſent State of it with the Survey ſet down in the Dooms-Day Book, and makes an Inſtance in *Gloceſterſhire*, his native

native Country, by which it appeareth, that the Inhabitants of that County ſince that Time are very much increaſed.

And laſt of all he proves the Increaſe of the People in the City of *London* from the Bills of Mortality; which two laſt Arguments carry with them the greateſt Force, becauſe they do moſt clearly and evidently diſcover the matter of Fact as it is in our own Nation. As to the firſt, it is certain that there is above thirty times more People in *England*, than there were in *William* the Conqueror's Reign, when that Survey was taken; and as to the latter, it may be ſeen by the Abſtracts of the Bills of Mortality. If we trace this matter backwards to the moſt early Ages, of which we have any Accounts of *Britain*, we muſt allow from the Deſcriptions of great Woods, many ſmall Governments

ments within a little extent of Country, as for Inſtance, four Kings within the County of *Kent*, and the manner of the People's living without Arts in thoſe Ancient Times, are Three Demonſtrative Proofs that the Nation was very thinly peopled. For firſt, where there are great Foreſts, there is not room for Paſture, or Corn to feed Mank nd; beſides they are Shelter for Numbers of Beaſts of Prey, which Men, as they increaſe, do every where deſtroy; for Man allows no Fleſh-eaters to live but himſelf, except the *Dog* and the *Cat*, which are only to eat what he pleaſes, and he makes them tame for his Uſe. The *Lion*, the *Bear* and the *Wolf* are not to be found in populous Countries, and we find it is the firſt Buſineſs of all Planters in *America*, and in all new diſcovered Countries, to clear the Woods

and

and to deſtroy the wild Beaſts, to make room to ſettle themſelves.

The many little Governments ſhew a Country in its Infancy; for from ſingle Family-Government, ſmall Governments began, and from a Conjunction of theſe by the various Accidents Human Affairs are ſubject to, greater Kingdoms had their Commencements. Beſides it farther deſerves Conſideration, that without Trade, Arts and Manufactures, a great number of People cannot live together; as likewiſe the Earth by the Improvement of Agriculture produceth ten times more Food, than it can naturally, and the Arts of the City are paid for the Proviſions of the Country. All ancient Hiſtory, as well as that of *Moſes*, proves that *Aſia* was firſt peopled, particularly in *Meſopotamia* about *Babylon*: And

And as Mankind increaſed, and the Country filled with Inhabitants, Arts were invented and they poſſeſſed more Ground, till they ſpread themſelves into *Egypt*, and ſo over *Africa*, and from thence into *Greece* and by degrees over *Europe*; and now *Europe* being full, their ſwarm begins to fill *America*. All the ancient Deſcriptions of the Countries of *Europe*, in the times of the *Roman* Greatneſs, are juſt ſuch as are now given of *America*, and differ very much from what theſe Parts of the World are now in Number of Cities, Towns, Arts and Sciences. We have an Authentick Account of the State of *England* from *Cæſar*'s *Commentaries*; had the Country been populous, he was too good a Judge of Attempts of that Nature to have ventured at firſt to invade it with two Legions; and

at the ſecond time, when he deſigned a full Conqueſt, brought over with him but five Legions, that is about five and twenty thouſand Men. Altho' ſome may think from the great Armies we read of under *Cyrus* and *Xerxes* in *Aſia*, and the vaſt Inundations of the *Goths* and *Vandals* in *Europe* in their Invaſions under *Attila* and others, that the World was then more populous than now, becauſe we hear of no ſuch Numbers of late; yet if it be maturely conſidered, that very Argument demonſtrates only the different manner of their Fighting, and the Infancy of the World, the want of People and of Arts, rather than that it was at that time populous. The Armies of thoſe Ages were made up after the ſame manner of thoſe of the Jews, by taking all that were able to bear Arms, reckoning from

abou

about twenty Years old to ſixty. When *Cæſar* had ſlain the Army of the *Nervii*, a People about *Tournay* in *Flanders*, the old Men and Women petitioning for Mercy, declared that there was not five hundred Men left in the whole Nation, that were able to bear Arms. Out of ten Millions of People in *England*, we may very well compute three Millions and a half, who after this manner are able to go to War, and that would be a greater Number than was yet ever read of. Tho' the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and the cold Parts of the World made their Invaſions, as ſome have affirmed, for want of Room to live in, yet that in Truth proceeded from want of Arts and Learning; for as by Arts the Earth is made more fruitful, and by conſequence capable of containing more Inhabitants;

ſo

ſo by the Invention of the Compaſs, and Printing, the World is made more converſable and more improved; by the firſt Nations trade and exchange the Commerce they abound with, for thoſe they want, and thus the Inhabitants of the cold and barren Countries are better fed, better cloathed, and better lodged, which makes them endure the Extremities of their Climates better than formerly; and as they increaſe they build new Towns, enlarge their Cities, and improve their own Country, inſtead of invading and deſtroying their Neighbours.

Thus Mr. *Moyle* penetrated deep into all the Authors he read, and he was very nice in the choice of them. An Exactneſs of Reaſoning was his peculiar Talent, to that was joined a Vivacity of Expreſſion that never failed him.

and due South of *Terra del Fuego* and on the other ſide of the Globe *Hudſon's* and *Davis's* Streights, *Nova Zembla* and the Streights of *Weygat* are ſtill to be attempted.

It is too well known how *England* loſt the Golden Mountains of *Chili* and the Silver Mines of *Peru* and *Mexico*; and by that Neglect the Wealth of the richeſt part of the Earth has been ſacrificed to the Zeal, Tyranny and Sloth of the proudeſt, and at the ſame time the pooreſt Nation in *Europe*. Some learned Men have thought that almoſt one half of the Terreſtial Globe is yet undiſcovered, but by modeſt Computation, he ſuppoſed one fourth part to be yet *Terra Incognita*.

Some farther Matters, relating to the Writings of Mr. *Moyle*, I ſhall refer to my Review of them in the cloſe of this Volume. *A. H.*

XENOPHON's

DISCOURSE

UPON

Improving the Revenue

OF THE

State of ATHENS.

First Printed in the Year 1697.

TO

Dr. D'AVENANT.

SIR,

AT length the WAR, *which has been carried on for ſo many Years, with ſuch expence of Blood and Treaſure to the Nation, is at an end; and we have the faireſt proſpect imaginable of a laſting* PEACE, *and a happy Settlement under the Government of a Prince, who after he has employed his Arms abroad with ſo much ſucceſs for the defence of our Liberties; will, we hope, turn all his Councils to the finiſhing ſo glorious a Deſign, and be as renowned to future Ages, for the peaceful arts of Government, as for his military Virtues: As his Courage has made us ſafe, ſo his Wiſdom, undoubtedly, will make us rich and happy, by the improvement of our Navigation, and the increaſe of our Trade: For it is to Trade we owe the riſe and progreſs of the* Engliſh

Greatneſs, that has enabled us to ſupport ſo tedious a War *againſt the moſt formidable Power which has been known in* Europe *for theſe many Ages, and that alone can enable us to diſcharge the vaſt Debts we have contracted by the* War. *Trade being of ſuch mighty conſequence to the intereſt of the Nation, will, we hope, meet with due encouragement and protection from our Laws, and will be ſettled under the ableſt Management, and the wiſeſt Regulation. Theſe Branches of our Commerce, which have been impaired or loſt by the Pyratick* War, *and the fatal interruption of our Navigation, may be retrieved by the* Peace, *and other Trades, and particularly that with* France, *which the Negligence, or the miſtaken Counſels of the laſt Reigns had ſettled upon a foot ſo deſtructive to our Intereſt, may be eſtabliſhed to our Advantage in a new Treaty of Commerce. The great Trade to the* Eaſt-Indies, *with ſome few Regulations, might be eſtabliſhed upon a bottom more conſiſtent with the Manufactures of* England; *but in all appearance, this is not to be compaſſed, unleſs ſome publick ſpirited Man with a maſterly Genius be placed at the head of our Affairs in* India; *and tho*

we

*we who are his friends, are loth to loſe him, it were to be wiſhed, for the good of the Kingdom, that the Gentleman * whom common Fame, and the Voice of the World, have pointed out as the ableſt Man for ſuch a Station, would employ his excellent Judgment and Talents that way, in the Execution of ſo uſeful a Deſign.*

The general Intereſt of a Nation ought to be the Care of particular Men, the main bent of their Studies, and the chief Purſuit of their Inquiries: Every Man ought to ſet his helping Hand to ſuch a Work: And your own generous Labours upon this Subject, have ſet an excellent Pattern to the reſt of the World. To this End I preſent you with a Tranſlation of this Diſcourſe of Xenophon *upon the Subject of* Revenue *and* Trade, *and I fancy it will be no unwelcome Entertainment to you, to find your own admirable Obſervations upon theſe matters, confirmed by the Authority of one of the greateſt Men that ever Antiquity produced, and the only ancient Author upon this Subject, which is now extant. You will admire the Force and Solidity of his Obſervations, the Exactneſs*

* Dr. D'Avenant.

of his Calculations, the Juſtneſs and Freedom of his Thoughts, not confined to the narrow notions of Parties and Factions, and the vigour of his Judgment and Eloquence at ſo great an Age. The general Rules for the increaſe of Riches and Trade, are either directly advanced, or may be very naturally deduced from this Diſcourſe. This admirable Maxim, That the true Wealth and Greatneſs of a Nation, conſiſts in numbers of People, well employed, *is every where inculcated throughout the whole courſe of the Treatiſe. And I believe* Xenophon *was the firſt Author that ever argued by Political Arithmetick, or the Art of reaſoning upon things by Figures, which has been improved by ſome able Heads of our own Nation, and carried to the higheſt Perfection by your own ſucceſsful Inquiries.*

As for what relates to my Tranſlation, I have rather choſen to render the Senſe and Meaning of the Author, than his Words, or his Manner: The Purity, Politeneſs, and unaffected Simplicity of his Stile, are Graces not to be copied by the Barrenneſs and Barbarity of our modern Languages.

I hope

I hope the Tranſlation is faithful and exact; if there are any Miſtakes, I deſire the candid Reader to forgive them: I have inſerted ſome hiſtorical Notes, to explain ſeveral Difficulties relating to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Grecian *People.*

I am,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate Friend,

and humble Servant,

W. MOYLE.

A Table of the Attick *Coins reduced to the Value of* Engliſh *Money.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
THE *Obolus* was equal to	0	0	$1\frac{3}{4}$
The *Triobolus* was three *Oboli*, and made	0	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$
The *Drachma* was ſix *Oboli*, and made	0	0	$7\frac{1}{2}$
The *Mina* was an hundred *Drachmas* and made	3	2	6
The common *Attick* Talent conſiſted of 60 *Minæ*, which amounts in our Money to	187	10	0

Theſe are the common *Attick* Coins, which are moſt frequently mentioned by their Writers, and which I have reduced to our *Engliſh* Money, to make way for the eaſier underſtanding of this Diſcourſe.

A

DISCOURSE

UPON

Improving the Revenue

OF THE

State of ATHENS.

I ALWAYS held it for a certain *Maxim*, that Governments reſembled their Governors, and that the Proſperity or Declenſion, the Vigour or Decay of all States, was derived from the Virtues and Vices, the Abilities or Weakneſs of their Rulers: But ſince it is generally alleged in vindication of the *Athenian* Miniſtry, that they underſtand the common Principles of Juſtice as

as well as the rest of Mankind, but that they are compelled by the [a] *Necessities* of the *Common People* to oppress their [b] *Confederate* Cities with unreasonable Tributes and Taxes: I have attempted to examine whether this Apology is well grounded, and whether they are not capable by Native Riches, and Revenue of the State of *Athens*, to maintain the whole Body of our People, which is the justest and most honourable Provision can be thought of: For I imagine if such a Design could be

[a] Διὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πενίαν. The *State* of *Athens* was at a great Charge in maintaining the *Common People*. They were allowed three *Oboli* a Man for every Cause they judged; and this Pension was called the Τριώβολον δικάστικον. *Lucian. in bis accusato*. And some days many Thousands received this Pension.

The Θεώρικον was an Allowance of two *Oboli* a-piece, to pay for the Sight of publick shews. *Liba. in argu. Olyn. primæ*.

The Ἐκκλησιάστικον was an *Obolus* a-piece, paid them every time they assembled. *Jul. Poll. l. 6. c. 9.* And this Pension was afterwards increased to three *Oboli*. Besides, all maimed and disabled Citizens had a Pension of two *Oboli* a day. *Harpocra.* in verbo ἀδύνατοι.

[b] *Xenophon* says only περὶ τὰς πόλεις, but the Word συμμαχίδας is plainly understood, as appears from the Sequel of this Discourse, and *Xenophon*'s Treatise of *the Government of Athens*. This *Tax* upon the *Confederates* was at first but 460 Talents, but it was afterwards advanced to 1300. *Plutarc.* in Vitâ *Aristidis*. This Tribute was so burdensome, that it provoked the *Confederates* to frequent Revolts.

compassed,

compaſſed, that the Wants of the People would be more effectually relieved, and the Jealouſies and Suſpicions of our Neighbours would be quieted.

Upon a general view of the whole Matter, it appeared to me that the *Athenian* Territory is capable of affording a mighty Income and Revenue, the Truth of which Aſſertion may be eaſily evinced by a brief Survey of the State and Nature of the Country.

The Fruits of the Earth, and native Products of our Soil, are a Proof of the temperature of our Climate, and the mildneſs of our Seaſons; for we have Plants which bear in great abundance in our Country, which will never grow in others; and our Sea, as well as Land, abounds in all Things neceſſary for Life, or Luxury: Add to this, that all the Bleſſings which the Gods have made peculiar to the different Seaſons of the Year, begin earlier, and end later with us, than in any Part of the World.

Beſides the vaſt plenty we enjoy of periſhable Goods, our Soil affords us ſome ſtaple and permanent Commodities, ſuch as our noble Quarries of Marble, out of which

which are drawn the beſt Materials for the Building and Ornament of Temples, and for the Altars and Statues of the Gods, and which both the *Greeks* and barbarous Nations ſet a high Value upon.

And where the Soil is too barren to receive the common Improvements of Husbandry, it contains hidden Treaſures, which will feed a much greater Number of Mouths than any arable Lands can do: For the Divine Bounty has beſtowed upon us inexhauſtible Mines of Silver, an Advantage which we enjoy above all our neighbouring Cities by Sea and Land, who never yet could diſcover one Vein of Silver Oar in all their Dominions.

We have Reaſon likewiſe to believe that *Athens* is ſeated in the Center of *Greece*, and the habitable World; for all Nations are incommoded with more intenſe Degrees of Heat or Cold in proportion to their (*Northern* or *Southern*) diſtance from us; and that we lie in the Heart of *Greece* is evident, for all Travellers, that paſs by Sea or Land, from one Extremity of *Greece* to the other, muſt take *Athens* in their Way.

And tho' *Attica* is no Iſland, yet we have the ſame Benefit of trading with all Winds, for we are bounded on two Sides by the Sea, and by being joined to the Continent we have the Convenience of driving on an Inland Traffick.

Other Cities lie expoſed to the Fury of barbarous Nations, but we are ſo far from having ſo ill a Neighbourhood, that the States which border immediately upon us, lie at a remote diſtance from them.

To all thoſe Advantages which conſpire to the Felicity and Greatneſs of our State, and which we owe to the happy Situation, and the native Wealth of our Country, a mighty Improvement might be made by the Inſtitution of publick Laws, in favour of Strangers who eſtabliſh themſelves among us; for beſides the general Benefits derived to all Cities from Numbers of People, our Strangers would be ſo far from living on the Publick, and receiving Penſions from the State as our own Citizens do, that they would maintain themſelves, and be the Foundation of the nobleſt Branch

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of our Revenue by the Payment of the [c] *Aliens* Duties.

An effectual Inducement to the Settlement of Foreigners among us might be eſtabliſhed, by taking off all thoſe publick Marks of Diſhonour from them which are of no Service, nor Advantage to the State, and by excuſing them from ſerving among our heavy armed Troops; for an Exemption from the Dangers of War, and from the Neceſſity of being abſent from their Families, and [d] *Trades*, would be a very powerful Encouragement.

'Tis likewiſe the Intereſt of the Com-

[c] Μετοίκιον, Aliens *Duties*. This was an annual Tribute paid by the Aliens, of twelve *Drachmas* for every Man, and ſix for every Woman. *Harpocra. in verbo* μετοίκιον. The number of the Aliens amounted generally to 10000. Originally at *Athens* there was no diſtinction between Strangers and Natives, for all Foreigners were naturalized promiſcuouſly. *Thucyd. l.* 1. *c.* 2. Thus all the *Platæans* were naturalized at once. *Thucyd. l.* 3. *c.* 55. And this Cuſtom was the Foundation of their future Greatneſs. But as the City grew more populous, they grew more ſparing of this Favour. *Scholi. Thucyd. l.* 1. *c.* 2. and this Privilege was given to ſuch only as had deſerved it by ſome extraordinary Service to the State. *Demoſt.* Oratio contra *Neæram.*

[d] Τέχνων not τίκνων. The *Baſil* Edition reads it right; for moſt part of the Mechanick and Handicraft Trades were carried on by the Aliens at *Athens*. *Xenoph.* de Polit. *Athen.*

mon-Wealth, rather to fight our Battles with our own Troops, than to keep up in our Armies, a mixture of *Lydians*, *Phrygians* and *Syrians*, and all kinds of barbarous Nations, out of whom the greateſt Number of our *Aliens* are compoſed.

Beſides the Advantage of avoiding the Confuſion ſuch a Mixture of Troops produces, it would be more for our Reputation Abroad, to truſt the Fortune of our State to the Courage and Valour of our own Citizens, than in the Hands of Foreigners.

Beſides all other proper Encouragement to Strangers, the Privilege of being [e] *inrolled* among our Horſe, would more warmly unite them in our Intereſts, and prove a ſolid Foundation of Strength and Greatneſs to the State.

It would be likewiſe a ſtrong Inducement to greater Numbers of conſiderable Strangers to plant among us, if we gave

[e] Τῶν ἱππικῶν. *Xenophon* explains this Paſſage in his *Hipparchicus*, where he adviſes the *State* to inroll *Aliens* among their Horſe. Beſides the Dignity of the Horſe-Service, there was a conſiderable Pay in Peace and War allowed them. *Ulpianus in Timocrateam. Xenoph. in Hippar.*

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the [f] *waſte Ground* within our Walls to be built on by ſuch of them as deſerved and deſired it of the Publick.

The Inſtitution of a new [g] Magiſtracy, like the [h] publick Guardians of our Orphans, for the Protection and Security of Strangers, with Rewards of Honours and Dignities to thoſe, who by their Care and Induſtry, procured the moſt numerous Settlements of Foreigners among us, would gain the Affections of the *Aliens*, and have a very happy Effect, in drawing a vaſt concourſe of ‡ Exiles and Strangers to live under the Protection of our Government, and augment our publick Revenue.

That of all Cities, *Athens* lies the faireſt for inviting an extended Commerce, is evident from the convenience of our Stations and Harbours, where Ships can ride ſecure in all Weather. And whereas in other trading Cities, Merchants are forced to bar-

[f] See *Thucydides*'s Hiſtory of the *Peloponneſian* War. *Book* 2. *Chap.* 17.

[g] Μετοικοφύλακες. Every *Alien* by the Laws of *Athens*, was obliged to chuſe a private Patron among the Citizens. *Harpocration. in verbo* προστάτης, but here *Xenophon* propoſes publick Patrons for the whole Body of the Aliens.

[h] Ὀρφανοφύλακες. Vide *Demoſthen.* contra *Macartatum.*

‡ Ἀπόλιδες. Men whoſe Cities have been deſtroyed.

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ter one Commodity for another, in regard their Coin is not current abroad, we abound not only in Manufactures, and Products of our own Growth, ſufficient to anſwer the Demands of all Foreign Traders, but in caſe they refuſed to export our Goods, in return for their own, they may trade with us to Advantage, by receiving Silver in exchange for them [i], which tranſported to any other Market, would paſs for more than they took it for at *Athens*.

It would be a great Encouragement to Commerce, if Prizes, and Rewards were allotted to ſuch [k] Judges of the Court-Merchant, as made the quickeſt and juſteſt Determination of all Cauſes relating to Trade, that the Merchant might not loſe the

[i] Παντὸς πλεῖον ἢ ἀργυρίου λαμβάνουσιν. The meaning of *Xenophon* is that the *Athenian* Money was more valuable abroad than the Coin of any other Nation, becauſe it was of finer Silver. For it is impoſſible that an Ounce of *Athenian* Silver ſhould be worth more in Specie than an Ounce of other Silver of the ſame fineneſs. *Senſus moreſque repugnant, atque ipſa utilitas.*

[k] Τοῦ ἐμπορείου ἀρχῆς. This Court of Judicature was probably the ſame with the ναυτοδίκαι, mentioned by *Suidas* and *Heſychius*, *in verbo* ναυτοδίκαι.

Benefit of his Market by an attendance upon the Courts of Juſtice.

It would be likewiſe for the Honour and Advantage of the Publick, to give the firſt Rank[1] and Precedence in all publick Places to Foreign Sea-men, and Merchants, and to invite to the publick Feaſts of the City, ſuch of them as by their Ships, or Commodities do ſervice to the State; for this Diſtinction of Honour as well as the Conſideration of their own Profit, would invite them to make quick Returns from their Voyages to ſo friendly a Government.

And it is manifeſt beyond all Contradiction, that our Trade and Commerce would be extended, our Exportations and Importations increaſed, and the ſtanding Income and Revenue of the State improved, in proportion to the Number of Foreign Seamen, and Merchants of all kinds that eſtabliſh themſelves among us.

[1] Προεδρίαις τιμῶσι. This was a right of Precedence in the Theatres, Senate, Aſſemblies of the People, and in all publick places whatſoever. *Schol. Ariſtoph. in Equ.* This Cuſtom was practiſed by the *Spartans*, who gave this Privilege to the *Deceleans*. *Herodotus lib. 9. c. 72.*

To the Improvement of theſe Articles, of our Revenue, nothing more is required than a generous Lenity and Indulgence in our publick Laws, and an univerſal Encouragement and Protection to Strangers. But the Improvements that may be added by other Methods to advance our ſtanding Income, will of Neceſſity require a Settlement of ſome Publick [m] Fund.

And I have good Grounds to believe that the People will make large Contributions in favour of ſuch a publick Undertaking, when I conſider what Sums they advanced when we ſent Succours to the *Arcadians* under the Command of *Lyſiſtratus*, and likewiſe of [n] *Hegeſilaus*.

How often have we ſet out Squadrons of Gallies by extraordinary Subſidies, without any certain Proſpect of Advantage to the State? but this we were all ſure of, that no particular Contributor would ever be

[m] Ἀφορμὴ, a Fund. *Harpoc. Heſychius*, in verbo ἀφορμή.

[n] *Hegeſilaus* commanded the *Athenian* Troops ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the *Mantinæans* at the Battle of *Mantinæa*; which is a Proof that this Diſcourſe was writ after that Battle. *Diog. Laer. in Xenoph. Diodorus Siculus* by Miſtake calls him *Hegelochus*.

repaid the whole, or any part of his Money.

But in the preſent Caſe no Man can poſſeſs a more Honourable, or Advantageous Revenue, than what he will receive in Recompence for his Contribution to this publick Fund: For a Contributor of Ten *Minæ*, will receive a [o] *Triobolon* a Day from the

[o] Τριώβολον. *Salmaſius* de modo *Uſurarum* thinks that this was the τριώβολον δικάστικον which the People received for judging Cauſes. But *Xenophon*'s Computation plainly confutes this Opinion: He ſays that a Contributor of 10 *Minæ*, or 1000 *Drachmas*, at the rate of a *Triobolus* or half a *Drachma* a Day, will in a Year's time receive almoſt the fifth part of the principal Money he advanced. Which is very true, for reckoning (as *Xenophon* always does in this Diſcourſe) 360 Days to the Year, the Payment of a *Triobolus* a day will amount to 180 *Drachmæ*, which is near the fifth part of 1000 *Drachmæ*. But the payment of the τριώβολον δικάστικον could never amount to this Sum, becauſe the Holydays, by the Confeſſion of *Salmaſius*, took up two Months in the Year, and on theſe Days the People never heard Cauſes, ſo that 30 *Drachmas* muſt be deducted from 180, which reduces the Sum to 150, which is little more than the ſeventh part of 1000. So that *Salmaſius* is miſtaken, or *Xenophon* was a very looſe Calculator. The true meaning of the Paſſage I take to be thus: *Xenophon* in the following part of this Diſcourſe, in order to make Proviſion for the Citizens, makes a Propoſal to the State, to buy as many Slaves as would treble the Number of their own Citizens, which Slaves were to be let out at the rate of an *Obolus* a Day to the Adventurers in the Mines, which brought in a Revenue of three *Oboli* a Day to every Citizen, becauſe the Slaves were thrice as many as the Citizens among whom this Revenue was to be divided.

And

the State, which in a Year's time, amounts to near 20 *per Cent.* this is a running Income as high as the Produce of [p] *Nautick* Intereſt: And a Contributor of five *Minæ*, will at the Year's End receive more than a [q] third Part of the Capital Sum he advanced: As for the Body of the People, if they pay in, one *Mina* a Piece, they will

And this I take to be the *Triobolus* mentioned by *Xenophon*, which every Citizen was to receive in recompence for his Contribution.

[p] It was the higheſt Intereſt, and is here oppoſed to Land-Intereſt, which was conſiderably leſs. For in the former the Creditor run a greater Hazard; for if the Merchant who borrowed the Money, employed it in Trade, loſt his Ship, the Creditor loſt his Money, and had no right to demand it of the Merchant; a Trade ſomewhat like our Bottomry. This Intereſt generally amounted to 20 *per Cent.* or the fifth part of the Principal *per annum.* It is true, it often varied, and was higher or lower according to the Plenty and Scarcity of Money, or the Danger and Diſtance of the Voyage. But the general *Medium* may be ſafely eſtabliſhed at 20 *per Cent.* There are ſeveral Contracts of Money lent upon *Nautick* Intereſt, extant in the Orations of *Demoſth.* contra *Lacrit. pro Phormi.* contra *Pant.* contra *Phormi.*

[q] Πλεῖον ἢ ἐπίτριτον. More than a third part of the principal Money: For a *Triobolus* a Day in a Year makes 180 *Drachmæ*, which is above the third part of five *Minæ* or 500 *Drachmæ.* The τόκος ἐπίτριτος was the higheſt *Nautick* Intereſt, and came to above 33 *per Cent.* There is an Inſtance which comes very near this Computation, in the Oration of *Demoſthenes* contra *Phormi.*

in a Year's time very near [r] double their Principal Money, and be paid in the City, without any hazard, or Contingency, upon the publick Faith, which is the moſt certain, and moſt laſting Profit.

I am of Opinion likewiſe, that private Strangers, and [s] foreign Cities, Kings, and Governours, if they had the Honour of being regiſtered to Poſterity in our publick Monuments and Records, as Benefactors to the State, would mutually vie in emulation who ſhould contribute moſt largely to the carrying on ſo generous a Deſign.

The neceſſary Funds being advanced, it would be for the Honour and Intereſt of the State, to build a greater Number of publick Inns, and Houſes of Entertainment in our Ports, for the uſe of Sea-men, in

[r] 180 *Drachmæ* is almoſt double one *Mina*, or 100 *Drachmæ*.

[s] *Foreign Cities, &c.* Foreign States often contributed to the Publick Buildings of the *Greeks*. The *Rhodians* when their *Coloſſus* was overturned by an Earthquake, received Contributions from all the neighbouring States in order to reſtore it, *Polybius*, *lib.* 5. And there are many Inſcriptions of ſuch publick Benefactors extant in *Gruter*, and elſewhere.

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the trading Parts of the City for Merchants, and in general for the Reception of all Strangers whatſoever.

And if we build Shops, Ware-houſes, and Exchanges for common Retailers, the Rents of the Houſes would be a great Addition to our publick Revenues, and the magnificence of the Buildings would be an Ornament to the City.

As the Publick builds Gallies for War, ſo it might likewiſe be for the Advantage of the State to make a new Experiment, and build Merchant-Ships for Trade, which might be farmed out, like the other Branches of our Revenue, upon good Security; for if this Deſign was found practicable, it would prove a conſiderable Article in the Increaſe of our publick Income.

Our Silver Mines alone, if rightly managed, beſides all the other Branches of our Revenue, would be an ineſtimable Treaſure to the Publick. But for the Benefit of thoſe who are unskilled in Inquiries of this Nature, I deſign to premiſe ſome general Conſiderations upon the true State and Value of our Silver-Mines, that the Publick up-

on a right Information, may proceed to the taking ſuch Meaſures and Councils, as may improve to the beſt Advantage.

No one ever pretended from Tradition, or the earlieſt Accounts of Time, to determine when theſe Mines firſt began to be wrought, which is a Proof of their Antiquity, and yet as ancient as they are, the Heaps of Rubbiſh which have been dug out of them, and lie above Ground, bear no Proportion with the vaſt Quantities which ſtill remain below, nor does there appear any ſenſible Decay; or Diminution in our Mines, but as we dig on, we ſtill diſcover freſh Veins of Silver-Oar in all Parts, and when we had moſt Labourers at work in the Mines, we found that we had ſtill Buſineſs for more Hands than were employed.

Nor do I find that the Adventurers in the Mines retrench the Number of their Workmen, but purchaſe as many new Slaves as they can get; for their Gains are greater, or leſs, in Proportion to the Number of Hands they employ. And this is the only Profeſſion I know of where the Undertakers are never envied, be their Stock or Profits ever ſo extraordinary, becauſe their Gains never

never interfere with thoſe of their Fellow Traders.

Every Husbandman knows how many Yoak of Oxen and Servants are neceſſary to cultivate his Farm, and if he employs more than he has occaſion for, reckons himſelf ſo much a Loſer; but no Dealer in the Silver Mines ever thought he had Hands enow to ſet to work.

For there is this Difference between this, and all other Profeſſions; that whereas in other Callings, for Inſtance, Braziers and Black-Smiths, when their Trades are overſtocked, are undone, becauſe the Price of their Commodities is lowered of courſe, by the multitude of Sellers; and likewiſe a good Year of Corn, and a plentiful Vintage, for the ſame Reaſon does hurt to the Farmers, and forces them to quit their Employments, and ſet up publick Houſes, or turn Merchants and Bankers.

But here the Caſe is quite otherwiſe, for the more Oar is found, and the more Silver is wrought, and made, the more Adventurers come in, and the more Hands are employed in our Mines.

A Maſter of a Family indeed, when he is well provided with Furniture, and Houſhold-Goods, buys no more, but no Man was ever ſo overſtocked with Silver, as not to deſire a farther Increaſe: if there are any who have more than their Occaſions require, they hoard up the reſt with as much Pleaſure as if they actually made uſe of it.

And when a Nation is in a flouriſhing Condition, no one is at a loſs how to employ his Money: The Men lay it out in fine Armour, in Horſes, and in magnificent Houſes and Buildings; Women lay it out in great Equipage, coſtly Habits, and rich Cloaths.

And in Accidents of War, when our Lands lie fallow, and uncultivated, or in a publick Dearth, and Scarcity, what Reſerve have we left to apply to but Silver, to purchaſe Neceſſaries for our Subſiſtence, or hire Auxiliaries for our Defence?

If it be objected that Gold is as uſeful as Silver, I will not diſpute it; but this I am ſure of, that plenty of Gold always lowered its Value, and advanced the Price of Silver.

I have inſiſted the longer upon theſe general Reflections, to encourage Adventurers of

of all kinds, to employ as many Hands as poſſible in ſo advantageous a Trade, from theſe plain Conſiderations, that the Mines can never be [t] exhauſted, nor can Silver ever loſe its Value.

That the Publick has known this long before, is evident from our Laws, which allow Foreigners to work our Mines upon the [v] ſame Terms and Conditions our own Citizens enjoy.

But to draw this Diſcourſe more immediately to the Subject of my preſent Conſideration, which is the Maintenance of our Citizens, I will begin to propoſe thoſe

[t] *That the Mines can never be exhauſted.* It is plain from *Pauſanias* that theſe Mines were not worked in his Time. *Pauſ. Attic.* But this does deſtroy the Aſſertion of *Xenophon*, for the plundering the Temple of *Delphi* brought out two Millions of our Money, which lay dead before; and the Conqueſt of *Perſia* by the *Macedonians* brought ſuch a vaſt quantity of Silver into *Greece*, and conſequently made Labour ſo dear, that the Silver found in the Mines would in all probability ſcarce countervail the expences of the working them. Or it might proceed from the Subjection of *Athens* to a Foreign Power, or from other Accidents and not from any decay of the Mines.

[v] Ἐπὶ ἰσοτελείᾳ. *Upon the ſame Terms*, &c. The State was the Proprietor of the Silver-Mines, and Strangers or *Athenians* that worked in them, were obliged to pay the ſame Tribute of the 24*th* Part of the Silver found, to the Publick. *Suidas* in ἀγμάφα μισάλλα δίκη.

Ways

Ways and Means, by which the Silver Mines may be improved to the higheſt Benefit, and Advantage to the Publick. Nor do I ſet up for the Vanity of being admired for an Author of new Diſcoveries: For that Part of my following Diſcourſe which relates to the Examples of the preſent Age, lies obvious to all the World; as for what is paſt it is Matter of Fact, and every Man might inform himſelf that would be at the Pains of inquiring.

It is very ſtrange, that after ſo many Precedents of private Citizens of *Athens*, who have made their Fortunes by the Mines, the Publick ſhould never think of following their Example: For we who have heard, that *Nicias*, the Son of *Niceratus*, had a thouſand Slaves employed in the Mines, whom he let out to *Soſias* the *Thracian*, upon Condition to receive an *Obolus* a Day, clear of all Charges, for every Head, and that the ſame Complement of Workmen ſhould be always kept on Foot.

In like manner *Hipponicus* had 600 Slaves let out at the ſame Rate, which yielded him a Revenue of a *Mina* a Day, and *Philemonides* 300, which brought him in half a

Mina

Mina a Day, and many others made the ſame Advantage, in proportion to the Number of Slaves they poſſeſſed. But what need we to appeal to Precedents of an elder Date, when at this Day we have ſo many Inſtances of the ſame Nature before our Eyes?

In the Propoſals which I offer, there is only one thing new, namely, That as private Men have a conſtant Revenue coming in from the Slaves whom they let out to work in the Mines; ſo the Publick in imitation of their Example, ſhould purchaſe as many Slaves to be employed in the ſame manner, as will treble the Number of their own Citizens.

Let any reaſonable Man take this whole Propoſal to pieces, and examin every diſtinct Head apart, and then judge whether the Deſign is feaſible or not. It is plain the State can bear the Charge of the Price of the Slaves better than private Men. And nothing can be eaſier than for the Senate to make Proclamation for all that have Slaves to ſell, to bring them in, and then buy them up for the publick Uſe.

And when they are bought, what ſhould hinder any one from hiring them of the State

State upon the ſame Terms they hire them from private Men? For we ſee that our Revenues are farmed by particular Men, and the repair, and the building of our publick Structures and Temples [w] are let out to private Undertakers.

And that the Publick may be no Loſer by the Deſertion of Slaves, or other Accidents, the Adventurers in the Mines, like the Farmers of our Revenue, ſhould be obliged to give good Security to ſave the State harmleſs: Though at the ſame time the Common-Wealth may be much more eaſily cheated by the Farmers of their Revenue, than by the Hirers of their Slaves.

For how is it poſſible to diſcover the Frauds that are committed in the Management of the Publick Money? there being no viſible Diſtinction between publick and private Money; the ſame Materials and Stamp being common to both. But when

[w] *The repair of our Temple*, &c. Μισθοῦνται ἱερά. It was the Cuſtom of the *Greeks* to let out the building and repair of their Temples to private Undertakers. *Athenæus* l. 6. *Herod.* l. 5. *c.* 62. where he makes uſe of the ſame Word, τὸν Μισθοῦνται; That is, *They hired the building of the Temple upon ſuch Terms.* And the *Latines* uſed the Word *conducunt* in the ſame Senſe. *Conducunt foricas*, i. e. *Repurgandas. Juvenal. Sat.* 3.

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our Slaves are burnt with the publick Mark of the State, with ſevere Penalties to be inflicted upon all that buy, or ſell them; what Danger is there of their being ſtole? Thus much of my Propoſal as relates to the buying and preſerving our Slaves, appears practicable beyond all Contradiction.

If any one queſtions whether after we have purchaſed a great Number of Workmen, there will be Adventurers enow to hire them of the Publick, let him conſider, that the Undertakers who have a good Stock of Slaves will hire more of the State; for the Mines are ſo great, that they will require a vaſt Number of Hands to work them; and many of the Workmen that are grown old and unſerviceable, and many others, *Athenians*, and Strangers whoſe Bodies are not vigorous enough for Labour, yet would be willing to get their Living by eaſier Callings, would turn Adventurers in the Mines, and hire our Slaves; ſo that there is little danger of wanting Employment for our Workmen.

Twelve hundred Slaves, when bought, will probably in five or ſix Year's time, produce a Revenue ſufficient to purchaſe as many

many more as will make the Number 6000. This Number at the rate of an *Obolus* a Day a Head, clear of all Charges, will afford a yearly Revenue of [x] ſixty Talents.

And if but twenty of theſe Talents are laid out in the Purchaſe of more Slaves, the City may employ the overplus as they think convenient; and when the Number of Slaves is increaſed to 10000, it will produce a ſtanding Revenue to the Publick, of a hundred Talents a Year.

To demonſtrate that the Mines would take up a greater Proportion of Slaves to work them, I appeal to the Authority of all theſe living Witneſſes who remember, what Numbers of Workmen were employed in them before the taking of [y] *Decelea*

[x] *Revenue of* 60 *Talents.* This Computation proves that *Xenophon* reckoned but 360 Days to the Year: For 6000 *Oboli*, multiplied by 360, make 2,160,000 *Oboli*; which Sum, divided by 600 (for 600 *Oboli* make a *Mina*) makes 3,600 *Minæ*, which divided by 60 (for 60 *Minæ* make a *Talent*) reduces the whole Sum to 60 *Talents*. And the following Computation of 100 *Talents* a Year, produced by 10000 *Oboli* a Day, anſwers exactly to the former.

[y] *The taking of* Decelea, *&c. Decelea* was taken and fortified by the *Lacedæmonians* in the 19*th* Year of the *Peloponneſian* War, and lying in the Heart of *Attica*, it gave opportunity to 20000 *Athenian* Slaves to deſert to the Enemy. *Thucyd.* l. 7. c. 27.

by

by the *Lacedemonians*. And our Silver Mines that have been wrought for ſo many Ages, with ſuch Numbers of Hands, and continue ſtill ſo far from being drained, or exhauſted, that we can diſcover no viſible difference in their preſent State from the Accounts our Anceſtors have delivered down to us, are undeniable Proofs of my Aſſertion.

And their preſent Condition is a good Argument that there never can be more Hands at work in the Mines than there is Employment for: For we dig on ſtill without finding any Bottom or end of our Mines, or decay of the Silver-Oar.

And at this Day we may open new Mines as well as in former Ages, and no one can determin whether the new Mines may not prove more rich than the old ones.

If any one demands why our Miners are not ſo forward in purſuit of new Diſcoveries, as formerly; I anſwer, it is not long ſince that the Mines have begun to be wrought afreſh, and the preſent Adventurers are not rich enough to run the Riſque of ſuch an Undertaking.

For if they diſcover a rich Mine their Fortunes are made, but if they fail, they loſe all the Charges they have been at; and this Conſideration chiefly has diſcouraged the Adventurers from trying ſo dangerous an Experiment.

But in Order to remedy this Difficulty, I have ſome [z] Propoſals to offer to the Publick. There are Ten Tribes at *Athens*, and to each of theſe I would have the Government aſſign an equal Proportion of their publick Slaves, to be employed in ſearch of new Mines, and the Gains to be equally divided in common among all the Sharers in the Ten Tribes: For if the Mines were once ſettled upon this Eſtabliſhment, and the whole Undertaking carried on by a National Stock, the Adventurers would run little Hazard; and if but one of the Ten Tribes ſucceeded in the Attempt, the whole Community would be Gainers; and if two, three, four, or half the Tribes had the ſame good

[z] *Xenophon* in his former Propoſal would have 10000 Slaves let out at a certain Rate to the Adventurers in the Mines, but in this ſecond Propoſal he adviſes the State it ſelf to adventure in ſearch of Diſcoveries of new Mines, which Work was to be carried on by another ſet of Slaves, and not by the former 10000.

Fortune,

Fortune, the Profits would be proportionably greater; for it is a wild Suppoſition, and againſt the Experience of all Ages, to imagin that not One in Ten ſhould ſucceed in ſuch an Undertaking.

Companies of private Adventurers may carry on the ſame Trade in a Joint-Stock, nor is there any danger that they and the National Company will interfere one with another; but as Confederates are ſtrengthened by their mutual Aſſiſtance to each other, ſo the more Adventurers of all kinds are employed in the Mines, ſo much larger will the Gains and Advantages be to all.

Thus have I briefly propoſed ſome Conſiderations to the Publick, for eſtabliſhing the Management of the National Revenue upon ſuch an Inſtitution, as ſhall make effectual Proviſion for the whole Body of our People.

Nor let any Man be diſcouraged from the Conſiderations of the vaſt Expence, which will be neceſſary for the perfecting ſo great a Work: For there is no Neceſſity that either the whole Deſign muſt be finiſhed at once, or the Publick will receive

no Advantage from it; Quite the contrary, every Step we advance in our Way, the State will gain Ground; and by the gradual Progreſs we make in our publick Buildings in the rigging out our Trading-Veſſels, or in the Purchaſe of our Slaves, the Commonwealth will be an immediate Gainer.

And it is certainly more for the Advantage of the Publick to parcel out the Deſign, and finiſh it by degrees: For when many Houſes are building at once, they coſt more, and are worſe built: In like manner, if we purchaſe our Complement of Slaves all at once, we muſt pay more for them, and buy worſe into the Bargain.

But if we proceed gradually according to our Abilities, we ſhall ſtill have the ſame Advantage of continuing any right Methods we pitched upon in the Beginning, and ſhall be at liberty to correct the Overſights and Miſtakes we made at our firſt ſetting out. And if we perfect ſome Parts of our Undertaking, and delay the Execution of the reſt, the Revenue ariſing from part of our Deſign, which is finiſhed, will be ſufficient to anſwer the whole Expence of the Remainder. But if we reſolve to execute the whole

whole Project at once, the whole Charge of the Enterprize muſt be raiſed at once likewiſe.

And then the great Difficulty which will be objected to this whole Scheme is, that in caſe the Publick purchaſe ſo great a Number of Slaves, the Mines may happen to be overſtocked; but there can be no Grounds for ſuch an Apprehenſion, if we take care every Year to employ no more than there is actually Occaſion for.

Thus I think the eaſieſt Methods of finiſhing this Deſign are the beſt, and moſt effectual. It may be objected that the immenſe Charges of this War have exhauſted our Treaſure in ſuch a manner, that it will be impoſſible for the Publick to raiſe any new Subſidies, much leſs to advance the neceſſary Funds of ſuch an Undertaking. But this Difficulty may be eaſily removed, for let the State employ no more Money in the Adminiſtration of the Government the next Year after we have a Peace, than the annual Income of the Publick produced during the War, and whatever additional Improvements of our Revenue are made by the Peace, from the Encouragement of

Strangers and Merchants, from the Increaſe of our Exportations and Importations, occaſioned by the reſort of more People, and from a greater Vent of Commodities in our Ports and Markets, let all that be appropriated to this particular Service, in order to advance the National Revenue.

If any one imagines that a War will ruin our whole Undertaking, let him but conſider that the Execution of this Deſign will enable us to meet a Foreign Invaſion, with ſo many Advantages on our ſide, that a War in ſuch a Juncture will be leſs formidable to us, than to our Enemies themſelves.

For what Advantage can better enable us to carry on a vigorous and ſucceſsful War, than Numbers of Men? and by ſuch an Addition to the Stock of our People, as might be made by due Care and Encouragement; what Levies might be raiſed, what mighty Fleets and Armies ſet out to diſappoint all the Deſigns of our Enemies?

And I have Reaſon to believe that it is poſſible to work our Mines in the conjuncture of a foreign War, for they are covered on the South-Sea, by a ſtrong Citadel in *Anaphlyſtus*, and on the North-Sea, by another

another in *Thoricus*, and theſe two Fortreſſes lie at the diſtance of but 60 Furlongs from one another.

But if a third Fort was built upon the top of a Mountain, in the middle of the two former, the three Works would meet together, and other Silver Mines would be incloſed in a Circle, and guarded on all ſides, and the Workmen at the firſt Notice of an Invaſion might retire to a Place of Security.

But if we are invaded with more numerous Armies, our Enemies may make themſelves Maſters of our Corn, Wine, and Cattle that lie without the Works; but if they poſſeſs themſelves of our Silver Mines, what can they find to carry off more than a heap of Stones and Rubbiſh?

But how is it poſſible for our Enemies to make an Inroad upon our Mines? For the City *Megara*, which lies neareſt, is above 500 Furlongs from them; and *Thebes*, which is nearer than any but *Megara*, is more than 600 Furlongs diſtant from them.

If they advance to our Mines in a ſmall Body from this ſide, they muſt leave *Athens* behind them, and run the hazard of being

cut off by our Horſe, and flying Parties; and it is a wild Notion to imagine that they will invade us with their whole Force, and unguard their own Country, and leave it expoſed to our Inroads; for in ſuch a Caſe, *Athens* would be nearer to their Cities than their own Army.

But ſuppoſe they marched up to our Mines with a numerous Army, how could they ſubſiſt for want of Proviſions? If they foraged in ſmall Parties, they would be in danger of having their Convoys intercepted; if they foraged with their whole Armies, they muſt act upon the defenſive, and we ſhould be the Aggreſſors.

The Revenue ariſing from our Slaves would not only make a conſiderable Article in the Charge of maintaining our Citizens, but by the vaſt Concourſe of People from all Parts, the Cuſtoms of the Fairs and Markets at the Mines, and the Rent of our Publick Buildings, and Melting-houſes, and many other Heads would produce a mighty Income to the State.

The State upon ſuch an Eſtabliſhment would be peopled with a prodigious Number of Inhabitants, and the Value of Lands

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at the Mines would be as high as thoſe that lie near *Athens*.

A purſuit of ſuch Meaſures and Counſels would not only inrich the City, but introduce a habit of Obedience in the People; reform their Diſcipline, and revive the Courage of the Nation.

For if upon this Improvement of our Revenue, a larger Allowance was eſtabliſhed for the Maintenance of our Youth, they would be trained up to the Art of War in our [a] publick Academies with more Exactneſs, and perform their Military Exerciſes with a more regular Diſcipline, than the Racers in the [b] Torch-Courſe are taught to obſerve. And our Troops in Gariſon and the ſtanding Guards of our Coaſts, would do their Duty in their ſeveral Poſts with more Cheerfulneſs, if any effectual Proviſion was ſettled for their Subſiſtence.

[a] There were at *Athens*, and in other Parts of *Greece*, Military Academies or Gymnaſia, where the young Men exerciſed. *Theophraſtus de Blanditiâ Ariſtoph. & Schol. in Equi. Xenoph. in* 1, 2, 3, & 6th lib. *de rebus Græc.*

[b] Ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσι. *Torch-Courſe.* There was a Feſtival at *Athens*, on which a certain Number of Men ran with lighted Torches in their Hands. *Pauſ. Attic.* To this Ceremony *Lucretius* makes that fine Alluſion in his 2*d* Book,

Et quaſi Curſores vitaï lampada tradunt.

If

If it be made appear that the Revenue of *Athens* can never be improved, or advanced to the full height without a Peace, it may deserve the publick Inquiry, whether the Establishment of a [c] Council of Peace would not be for the Benefit and Advantage of the State.

For the Institution of such a Magistracy would invite more numerous Settlements of Foreigners to make *Athens* the Place of their Abode.

For it is an absurd Supposition to imagine, that Peace will weaken our Strength, and ruin our Authority and Reputation abroad; for of all Governments, those are happiest who have continued longest without War, and of all Common-wealths, *Athens* lies fairest for flourishing and increasing by the Arts of Peace.

For *Athens* in time of Peace is the great Theatre to which all Mankind have Occasion to resort: To begin with Merchants and Commanders of Ships, Where

[c] Ἐιρηνοφύλακες. *Council of Peace.* This new Magistracy which *Xenophon* proposes to be instituted for the Preservation of the Publick Peace, was to be, in all probability, like the ἐιρηνοδίκαι or *Fæciales* of the *Romans*, who were instituted by *Numa* for the same Considerations. *Dion. Halicarn.* lib. 2.

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can the Traders in Wine, Oyl, Corn, or Cattle have a quicker Vent, or a better Market for their Commodities than at *Athens?* Where can monied Men make a better Improvement of their Wealth; and, where is there greater Encouragement for thoſe who live by Arts of Invention and Ingenuity?

Where is there better Employment for Artificers and Mechanick Trades? Where can the Sophiſts, Philoſophers, Poets, and the Lovers of the Liberal Arts, reſort to a more renowned School of Learning and Humanity? Where is there a nobler Scene to gratifie the Curioſity of all Strangers that are delighted with Divine Rites and Inſtitutions, and the Celebrations of Religious Games and Feſtivals? And where can Merchants of all kinds whatſoever find a better Market to make quick Returns of their Money, than *Athens?*

If my Oppoſers acknowledge all this to be true, but ſtill imagine that we can never recover the Dominion of *Greece* but by a War, I deſire them to look back to the *Perſian* Invaſion, and examine, whether it was by Force of Arms, or our good Offices

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to the *Greeks*, that we were placed at the Head of the [d] Naval Confederacy, and the common Treaſury of *Greece*?

And when by a tyrannical Exerciſe of our Power we loſt our Juriſdiction, by an Alteration of our Meaſures, and a milder Adminiſtration, [e] we were reſtored to our ancient Authority by the joint Conſent of all the Iſlands.

Did not the *Thebans* in Acknowledgment of our generous Aſſiſtance to their State, place us at the Head of the common [f] Alliance? and our Rivals, the *Lacedemonians*, for the ſame Conſideration, quitted their old Pretenſions, and ſuffered us to give Laws to the [g] laſt Treaty, and

[d] Ἑλλησταμίας. After the *Perſian* Invaſion the *Athenians* had the Command of the Confederate Fleet, and were made Treaſurers of the Money contributed by the *Greeks* to the carrying on the War againſt *Perſia*. *Thucydides*, lib. 1.

[e] The *Athenians* recovered the Command of the *Greek* Iſlands, (which they loſt in the *Peloponneſian* War,) in the *4th* Year of the *100th Olymp*. *Diod. Sicul.* lib. 15.

[f] This Alliance between the *Thebans* and *Athenians* was made in the ſecond Year of the *96th Olympiad*. *Diod. Siculus*, lib. 14. *Xenophon.* lib. 3. *de rebus Græc.*

[g] This League between the *Spartans* and *Athenians* was made in the *4th* Year of the *102d Olympiad*, not long after the Battle of *Leuctra*. *Diod. Sic.* l. 15. *Xenop.* l. 7. *de rebus Græc.*

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diſpoſe of the ſupream Command of *Greece* at our own Diſcretion.

And at this Juncture, in the general Confuſion of *Greece*, we have the moſt favourable Opportunity of recovering our ancient Dominion without Difficulty, Hazard, or Expence, that ever any Nation had: For if we ſet up to be the common Mediators of *Greece*, and interpoſed our Authority to unite all the divided Intereſts abroad, and reconcile all the Factions at home; and if by ſolemn Embaſſies to all the neighbouring States we declared for the *Liberty* of [b] *Delphi*, all *Greece* would ſupport us at the Head of ſo glorious a Cauſe, and unite in a gene-

[b] The *Greeks* made it a part of their Religion, to preſerve the *Liberty* of *Delphi*. Thus the *Lacedæmonians* entered into a War to reſtore the Oracle to the *Delphians*, *Thucyd.* lib. 1. c. 112. And the firſt Article of their Leagues often began with a mutual Engagement on both Parts, to protect the Liberty of *Delphi*, *Thucyd.* l. 4. c. 118. l. 5. c. 18. Beſides their Religion, they had Reaſons of State for this proceeding: For if *Delphi* were ſubject to a foreign Power, the Prieſteſs might be forced to utter whatever Oracles the Conqueror pleaſed to impoſe: Nor could the Reſolutions and Sentences of the *Amphictyons*, who often ſate at *Delphi*, be free and unbyaſſed ſo long as *Delphi* was under a Foreign Dominion.

ral Confederacy againſt common Enemies, who endeavoured to make themſelves Maſters of *Delphi*, when the *Phocians* were reduced to Extremity.

And if we afterwards warmly intereſted our ſelves to eſtabliſh a general Peace by Sea and Land; all *Greece*, next to the Security of their own Governments, would deſire the Preſervation of *Athens*.

If any Man can have ſo wild a Notion, as to imagine, that War will contribute more to the Increaſe of the Riches of the State than Peace, I know no better way to decide the Controverſie, than by appealing to the Experience of former Ages, and producing Precedents to the contrary out of our own Story.

For upon inquiry he may find that the vaſt Treaſure we had amaſſed in Peace, was all conſumed in our former Wars; and to quote Inſtances of a freſher Date, in the preſent War all the Branches of our Income have been deficient, and what Money came in upon the publick Funds, has been all applied to the preſſing Occaſions of the State; but ſince the Seas have been open, and our Trade free, every Article of our Income is ad-

advanced, and the Government is at liberty to employ it as they think convenient.

Not that I would adviſe the Commonwealth to ſit down tamely by their Injuries in caſe of a foreign Invaſion; but this I am ſure of, that we ſhould be better enabled to revenge the Affront, if we are not the Aggreſſors, for our Enemies will never be able to form a Confederacy to ſupport them in an unjuſt War.

Upon the whole Matter, if nothing in this Propoſal appears impoſſible, or difficult; and if a purſuit of theſe Counſels and Reſolutions will gain the Affections of *Greece*, and eſtabliſh our Security at home, and increaſe our Reputation abroad: If the common People will abound in all things neceſſary for Life, and the Rich be eaſed of their Taxes to the Wars: If in this univerſal Plenty our Temples will be rebuilt, and our religious Feſtivals and Solemnities celebrated with more Magnificence: If our Walls, Docks, and Arſenals will be repaired, and our Prieſts, Senate, Magiſtrates, and Cavalry, reſtored to their ancient Rights and Privileges, is it not fit that all Engines ſhould be ſet at work to promote ſo glori-

ous an Undertaking, that in our Days we may ſee our Country eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid Foundation of Security and Happineſs?

And if the Publick, upon due Conſideration, thinks fit to execute theſe Orders and Inſtitutions, I would adviſe them to ſend Embaſſadors to *Delphi* and *Dodona* to conſult the Gods, whether ſuch a Reformation of our Government would not turn to the Advantage of the preſent Age, and the Benefit of all Poſterity.

And if theſe Reſolutions are ratified by the Divine Approbation, to conſult the Oracle once more, to the protection of what Gods we ſhould recommend the Succeſs of this Enterprize, and then to propitiate thoſe Gods we are directed to apply to, in order to engage their Aſſiſtance: and after this ſolemn Invocation to enter boldly upon the Execution of this Deſign: For it is but reaſon that all Undertakings ſhould be attended with more favourable Succeſs, that are begun, and carried on, under the immediate Care and Protection of the Divine Providence.

The End.

Mr. Moyle's Obſervations.

IF we knew who the Enemies were that deſigned to ſeize upon *Delphi*, (as mentioned in the thirty eighth Page of the foregoing Diſcourſe) it would be no difficult Matter to determine exactly the Time when it was written. *Jaſon*, the Tyrant of *Theſſaly*, had formed a Deſign upon *Delphi*, but his Death prevented the Execution of it. *Diod. Sic. Xenop. Hiſt. Græc. Ælian. Frag.* But this Paſſage cannot be underſtood to mean this attempt, for *Jaſon* was aſſaſſinated in the third Year of the 102 *Olymp.* ſome Years before the Battle of *Mantinæa*, and this Diſcourſe, as I have proved in a former Note, was written after that Battle. I think that this Paſſage (taking the Word ἐκλειπόντων in a neutral Senſe as I have rendred it, and for which there are a thouſand Authorities) ought to be underſtood of a Deſign the *Thebans* had formed upon *Delphi*. Th[illegible]ory

in ſhort is this: The *Thebans* being engaged in a War with the *Phocians*, upon ſome Diſpute about a Frontier, formed a Deſign upon the Temple of *Delphi*. *Demoſt. de falsâ Legatione, Ulpianus.* And the *Phocians* at the ſame time being condemned by the *Amphictyons* to pay a great Fine for plowing up ſome Conſecrated Land, the *Greeks* prepared to execute the Sentence by force of Arms. The *Phocians* being unable to reſiſt ſuch an approaching Storm, were reduced to great Extremities, and compelled for their own Preſervation, to ſeize upon the Treaſures of *Delphi:* This gave beginning to the Holy War, and all *Greece* engaged in the Quarrel. The *Athenians* aſſiſted the *Phocians*, but *Xenophon* adviſes them to break off that Alliance, and declare for the Liberty of *Delphi*, and under that plauſible Pretence, to unite all *Greece* againſt the *Thebans*, who were equally criminal with the *Phocians*, (as *Demoſthenes* obſerves) for having formed the firſt Deſign upon the Temple. This Counſel he recommends to the *Athenians* as the beſt Method to recover the Dominion of *Greece*. I know it will be objected that *Diog. Laertius* places

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the Death of *Xenophon* in the firſt Year of the 105*th Olympiad*, and the *Phocian* War breaking out ſome Years after, it will be impoſſible to explain this Paſſage in my Senſe.

To this I anſwer, that this Account of *Laertius* is certainly falſe: For *Xenophon*, in his *Greek* Hiſtory, mentions the Death of *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheræ*, which happened, as *Diodorus* obſerves, in the 4*th* Year of the 105*th Olymp.* ſo that *Xenophon* muſt be a Prophet, or be alive at that time, three Years after his ſuppoſed Death. *Xenophon* likewiſe in the concluſion of his *Greek Hiſtory* affirms, that after the Battle of *Mantinæa*, *Greece* was in a greater Diſorder and Confuſion than ever. But we read of no conſiderable Commotion in *Greece* till the breaking out of the *Holy War*, in the 1*ſt* Year of the 106*th Olymp.* which engaged all *Greece* in an inteſtine Diviſion.

To confirm this Account of *Laertius*, it may be urged, that *Xenophon* living 90 Years, according to *Lucian* in *Macrob.* and being preſent at the Battle of *Delium*, which was fought in the firſt Year of the 89*th Olympiad*, about 67 Years before the *Holy War*, it is highly improbable that he was

living at the time of the *Holy War.* It is true, *Laertius* ſays, that *Socrates* ſaved *Xenophon*'s Life at that Battle: But *Athenæus l.* 5. ſays, that *Socrates* was not at the Battle; and it is probable that the other part of the Story of *Xenophon*'s being there, may be equally fabulous, eſpecially if what *Athenæus* (according to *Caſaubon*'s Correction) ſays be true, that *Xenophon* was but a Boy at the Banquet of *Callias*, which was three Years afterwards. Beſides he is called a *Young Man* in his Expedition into *Aſia*; but at this rate he muſt have been 50 Years old at that time, an Age at which a Man cannot properly be called young.

But granting that he was preſent at the Battle of *Delium*, if we allow him to be 18 Years old, the Age, if I miſtake not, that the *Athenians* uſually made their firſt Campagne, he would be but 81 Years old on the firſt Year of the 105*th Olympiad*, and conſequently might write of the *Holy War*, which broke out four Years afterwards. Nor does *Lucian* preciſely limit his Age to 90 Years only, but ſays he lived above 90 Years.

Xenophon

Xenophon in this Diſcourſe ſays, that the *Athenians* had been engaged in a War by Sea and Land; that the War by Sea was at an end, but the War by Land ſtill continued. This exactly agrees with the *Bellum Sociale*, or the War of the *Athenians* againſt their revolted Iſlands, which was carried on by Sea, and begun in the third Year of the 105*th Olympiad*, and ended in the ſecond Year of the 106*th Olympiad*, two Years after the breaking out of the *Holy War*, which the *Athenians* were then engaged in.

By this Account *Xenophon* writ this Diſcourſe about the third Year of the 106*th Olympiad*, a Year after the Concluſion of the Peace with the Iſlands.

If the Account of *Xenophon*'s Death in *Laertius* be true, I cannot believe this Work to be genuine; for I think it almoſt impoſſible to explain this Paſſage in any other ſenſe. But the Authority of all the Writers who aſcribe this Diſcourſe to *Xenophon*, and the Conformity of the Style with the reſt of his Works, and that Character of Piety which runs through the whole Piece, which is ſo peculiar to the Writings of *Xenophon*, and that particular Maxim at the

Concluſion of this Treatiſe, *of undertaking every thing under the Favour and Protection of the Gods*, which he inculcates in all his Works, and particularly at the end of his ἱππάρχικος, are undeniable Proofs that this Diſcourſe is genuine.

AN

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

Lacedæmonian Government.

ADDRESSED TO

Anthony Hammond, *Esq;*

In the Year 1698.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

Lacedæmonian Government.

WE learn from *Herodotus*, that the *Lacedæmonian* Government, or Civil Politie, was reformed by *Lycurgus*, before whoſe time, it was ſuch, that it did not anſwer the Ends of Government either with regard to foreign Affairs, or to their own domeſtick and private Welfare among one another: It appears from this, that it is not peculiar to Popiſh Tyrannies only, for Human Kind to ſuffer the greateſt Indignities and Cruelties under a notion and pretence of Government, as, you know, *Fletcher* [a] loves to maintain. "This wiſe

[a] An eminent Scots Gentleman of *Salton*.

"Law-

" [b] Lawgiver made ſuch Checks in the ex-
" ecutive part of the Government, that in
" the Adminiſtration they reciprocally con-
" trouled each other.

The *Lacedæmonian* Government was the ſame with that of *Crete*, and the Baſis of each was ſettled upon this Maxim, *'that* Liberty *is the chiefeſt good of* Civil Society, becauſe it is That which makes every thing elſe we poſſeſs, our own. But without this Liberty, all Property centers in thoſe who govern, and not in them who are governed [c].

It is obvious that this valuable Liberty cannot be preſerved without ſufficient ſecurity from Laws, which may create ſuch a Temperament in the Conſtitution of the Government, that a due Ballance in Property, Power and Dominion is formed by it. From hence it is, that the Common-wealth of *Sparta* has been very rightly defined to be a Government of Laws, and not of Men; and what can reaſonable Creatures wiſh for, but to live under an Empire of Laws?

[b] See, *Herodotus*, Clio.
[c] See, *Strabon*, Geograph. Lib. x.

From

From *modern Politicks* we have been taught the Name of the *Ballance* of *Power*, but it was *ancient Prudence* taught us the Thing.

To ſearch to the Bottom into the Nature of this Government, (the Subject of our preſent Conſideration,) we muſt remember that *Lycurgus* when he firſt begun to give a new Model to the Common-wealth, found the greateſt Part of the People to be wretchedly and deſperately poor, and ſome few exceſſively rich; his Intention and Deſign was to baniſh on the one Side, Envy, Fraud and Violence; and on the other, Inſolence, Luxury and Oppreſſion; and together with theſe, Riches and Poverty, each of them, when in Extreams, Diſeaſes dangerous to the Tranquillity of a Common-wealth; upon this he perſuaded them to come into a new and equal Diviſion of Lands, and that for the time to come none ſhould aim at Priority and Precedency in any thing, but in private and publick Merit; that all ſhould live upon equal Terms with one another, declaring there ought to be no difference between Man and Man, but what

ariſes from the juſt Praiſe of Virtue, and a neceſſary Reproach of Vice.

After he had gained this important Point, we are told that as he paſſed through the Country in the Harveſt Seaſon, and ſeeing the Shocks of Corn all of a Size; he ſmiled and ſaid, the Country looked as if it belonged to Brothers, who had newly parted their Inheritance. Thus the Crimes which are perpetually committed out of the Love of Money, did of themſelves ſoon ceaſe. But this *Golden Age* at *Sparta*, when Gold it ſelf was of little Worth or Eſteem, declined; for ſo early as in the Time of *Cræſus*, (the *Lewis le Grand* [a] of that Age,) the *Lacedæmonians* began to caſt amorous Glances upon the beauteous Metal, and being corrupted by him, they connived at the Slavery he brought upon the *Græcian* Republicks in *Aſia*, and by that means they loſt their Barrier; for the Liberty of a Government is as nice as the Chaſtity of a Woman: You know, dear *Hammond*, that if the Fair One gives up the Outworks, the Citadel is not long maintained. Some time after the equal Diſtribution of Lands (the *Agrarian* Law,) was ſhaken, though

[a] The XIVth.

this was judged to be the immoveable Baſis of the Common-wealth. Then Covetouſneſs entered, and after that a ſtrong Tendency to Eaſe and Pleaſures, which ſoon overcame the ſober and maſculine Temper of their firſt Inſtitution, inſtead of that private Integrity of Mind, and that publick Probity of Manners towards their Friends and Neighbours which accompanied their original State; Pride, Avarice and Injuſtice, ſupported by Riches and Power, advanced in Triumph; and a Government that grows effeminate and weak at home, will ſoon become deſpicable and odious abroad; and as it declines from Virtue, will ſink in Glory, and fall to Ruin.

Thus you ſee, as a good Author expreſſes it; *Eadem Fabula ſemper in Mundo agitur, mutatis duntaxat Perſonis*; which agrees with what *Thucydides* ſays in his third Book, *Eadem accidere, donec eadem Hominum Natura.* *Juſtin* in his Epitome of *Trogus Pompeius*, though an Author defective in Chronology, and taken ſingly, not entirely to be depended upon, yet he is very uſeful for ancient Hiſtory; and particularly in what he ſays of the *Lacedæmonian* Government, in

in his third Book; I refer you to him not being willing to tranſcribe the whole, though he gives Hints ſufficient there, to form an Idea of that *Republick*. It was conſidered that the Body of a People ſhew no Avarice, but in deſiring to be equally taxed, nor no Ambition, but to be quiet and happy under a juſt and well-poiſed Government. And it appears This was ſuch, for its Adminiſtration was lodged in the different Eſtates that compoſed the whole; the Kings had the Executive Power in War, the Courts of Juſtice were in the Hands of the Magiſtrates by a Rotation of annual Succeſſions; in the Senate was lodged the Legiſlature, to the People belonged the Choice of the Senators, and the Power of removing Officers. Thus the Perfection of Government was aimed at in thoſe early Times; it was judged to conſiſt in governing ſo, as Men might ſeem to determine themſelves freely, while they were guided by the Laws, and the Subject had juſt Grounds to believe that his own Advantage and Profit conſiſted in Obedience; but to ſpeak my Thoughts, the Nature and State of Man reacheth not to the ideal Perfection of Government; Men can

no

no more judge of their own Good than Children, ſome are too dull, and ſome too negligent; a Truſt is neceſſary, from hence ariſes Government, but ſtill the Imperfections and Weakneſs of Human Nature muſt go along with it.

However abſolute Slavery is an unjuſtifiable Uſurpation upon Nature, and I cannot conceive how abſolute Governments exerciſed tyrannically can think their ſuffering Subjects are under an Obligation of Obedience, becauſe ſuch ſervile Subjection implies a Man's renouncing his Reaſon, which amounts to a Renunciation of Human Nature it ſelf.

From the *Lacedæmonian* Government *Harrington* formed his Definition, which is the Baſis of his *Oceana*. "An equal Com-" mon-wealth, *ſays that excellent Author*, is " a Government eſtabliſhed upon an equal " *Agrarian*, ariſing into the Superſtructures, " or three Orders, the Senate debating and " propoſing, the People reſolving, and the " Magiſtracy executing by an equal Rota-" tion through the Suffrage of the People " given by the Ballot [d].

[d] *Harrington*'s Oceana, p. 55.

How

How nearly this is drawn from *Lycurgus*'s Inſtitution you may read with Pleaſure in his Life writ by *Plutarch*, and his Laws were kept in *Sparta* almoſt ſeven Hundred Years, and during that great length of time the Common-wealth flouriſhed in all poſſible Proſperity; he began with the forming of Youth, and in them their Courſe of Life was ſo ſtrict and auſtere, that War, when it was juſt and neceſſary, ſeemed natural to them. *Diogenes* ſaid, when he returned from *Lacedæmon* to *Athens*, that *he came from Men to Women*; their Diſcipline was ſuch both in War and Peace, that it made their City feared as well as honoured by all their Neighbours. They were eſteemed the chief among all the *Grecians*, and had a directive Power over all the reſt. Sovereignty and Liberty were conſiſtent with each Perſon, and no way prejudicial to one another; their Kings, tho of the race of *Hercules*, were not uneaſy in having their Power limited, and the Legiſlature kept within their Bounds. You may obſerve in every Government, that when the executive Power is transferred to the Legiſlative, there is no Controul, nor can there be any Check upon them; the People

ple in ſuch a caſe muſt ſuffer without redreſs they have no Reſource; becauſe they are oppreſſed by their own Repreſentatives. The *Ephori*, or *Tribunes* of the People, whoſe Authority in many reſpects was above the *King*'s, made the Government ſeem a *Democracy*; the Decrees of the Senate, (in whom the Legiſlature reſted,) were uncontroulable; in this it reſembled an *Ariſtocracy*, and the *regal Power*, which like the Soul did animate the whole, ſhewed ſomething Monarchical in it. He had Power to do Good, but none to do Harm. The Conſideration of this Government was of equal uſe to *Sidney* as well as *Harrington*; the former has I think been longer in confuting Sir *Robert Filmer*'s Patriarchal Hypotheſis, than it deſerved, which makes that part of his Work ſeem tedious; but his Notions of Government are generally right, and expreſſed with a Force, and Spirit, beyond what is commonly to be met with. One thing is very well worth your Notice in this Author, and that is, the admirable uſe he makes of Hiſtory, through the whole Courſe of his Book. Hiſtorical Reflections are finely interwoven in all his Diſcourſes. Such a uſe of Hiſtory ſeems

to be wanting in many Authors, who treat of Politicks. It is objected againſt *Sidney*, that he makes the Grounds and Obligation of Subjection and Obedience to Government too precarious and looſe; but this Objection ſeems to be taken from ſome incorrect Expreſſions, which have fallen from his Pen, and do not ariſe from the regular Hypotheſis he advances; and it muſt be conſidered, that this Work never had his laſt Hand. If you look into *Sidney*, I would adviſe you to read firſt the anſwer that has been made to *Filmer* by Mr. *Locke*, and his *Eſſay of the Original, Extent and End of Civil Government*; that piece contains the firſt Rudiments upon this Subject. I know a Gentleman, who calls it the A. B. C. of *Politicks*. But I might ſpare giving theſe Notices to you, who are an Adept in the Science. But to return to *Lycurgus*; when the *regal Authority* was put down at *Lacedæmon* he eſtabliſhed a Senate of twenty eight Men, to whom he joined two Kings Deſcendants of *Hercules*, as was hinted above, beſides the *Fundamental Inſtitutions* he left them. This Senate was to make Laws, Decrees and Orders for the governing of the Common-

wealth.

wealth. But theſe Laws were to have their Ratification from the People, who frequently refuſing to confirm the Decrees of the Senate, the Government was ſometimes reduced to Difficulties; ſo about one hundred and thirty Years after *Lycurgus*, *Theopompus* and *Polidorus*, at that time the Kings of *Sparta*, transferred the Power of making Laws on the Senate: The People were ſoothed into the permitting of this by the Pretence of an *Oracle*'s commanding it; as a farther compenſation, and to ſcreen them from the Tyranny that they might be liable to, either from the *Kings*, or the *Senate*, the *Ephori* were ſet up; and it is from the ſetting up of theſe high Magiſtrates that the four hundred Years of the Duration of that Republick is computed by *Thucydides*. The nearer you inſpect and take a view of the *Lacedæmonian* Common-wealth, you will find, as I formerly hinted, the true Conſtitution of the Government to conſiſt in this; that it contained in its Formation a proper Diſtribution of Power into ſeveral Branches, in the whole compoſing as it were one great Machine, and each grand Branch was a Check upon the other; ſo that not one of them

could exceed its juſt Bounds, but was kept within the Sphere in which it was circumſcribed by the Original Frame. From the Laws of eternal Reaſon, it is evident, that Number, Weight and Meaſure goes through the civil, as well as the natural World; and as all Things were at firſt created, ſo are they ſtill governed by Rules neceſſarily reſulting and flowing from thence: From this Reaſon and Neceſſity (the Words are equivalent, and of the ſame Signification in the Language of the Schools) ariſes the Truth of that Political Maxim, which you tell me Mr. *Harley*[a] often repeats; *Res nolunt adminiſtrari diu:* That is, a Government cannot ſubſiſt *long* under an *ill* Adminiſtration. Obſerve that the Weight of the Propoſition reſts upon this, that ill Management, Confuſion, and Diſorder cannot long ſubſiſt. Phyſicians ſay, that *acute Diſeaſes* either *cure* themſelves, or *kill*; ſo the Conſtitution of a Government either recovers its original State from under a wrong Adminiſtration, or it dies; that is, changes its form, and is renewed under another, for Human Societies can never ceaſe and break up entirely. Even in Civil War, (the great Reproach and Ble-

[a] The late Earl of *Oxford.*

miſh of human Prudence, or rather of human Nature) each ſide maintains a juſt Government among themſelves, however monſtrous and barbarous they are to the adverſe Party. It is an agreeable Thought to conſider how many Millions of People lived happily and dyed quietly under the *Spartan* Government in a Succeſſion of ſeven hundred Years. I do not regard the Severities of the Diſcipline, with which their Youth was educated: It is the weak and only Cenſure with which the corrupt Advocates of *Abſolute Monarchy* could ever aſperſe that Republick. Theſe Men do not fairly conſider, that the Severity they complain of, was amply recompenſed by the true and ſubſtantial Nouriſhment it gave to the Seeds of innate Virtue among them; and afterwards it was ſtill more amply recompenſed by the Reſpect and Veneration that was paid to thoſe Youths, when they became Old Men. The private Virtue, which that rigid Education inſtilled, gave a Strength to their publick Government; and it was that Strength enabled the Common-wealth upon extraordinary Emergencies to right her ſelf ſoon, if I may uſe a Sea Phraſe, when *Storms* had

brought her to lye almoſt *a long ſide*. Such a Vigour we have once ſeen in *England* upon the late happy *Revolution*; and I wiſh from my Soul, that *England* may never want a *like Vigour* upon a *like Occaſion!*

In *Lacedæmon* the diſtinct Function and different Power of each Branch of the Government was well known, and therefore it was as well known among them, when an Encroachment and Invaſion was made by the *one*, upon the inherent Rights and inſeparable Privileges of the *other*. I ſhould be glad we could ſay the ſame Thing of our own Government here in *England*; but the Boundaries and Limits of *Prerogative* and *Liberty* are not yet ſo well ſtated with *us*. To ſpeak with Freedom, and I hope without Offence to the learned and pious Body you repreſent, [b] I muſt tell you plainly, that the *Clergy* have for a great number of Years contributed chiefly to perplex the Notions and muddle the Brains of the *People* about our *Engliſh Conſtitution:* However I do as freely own they did their Duty very well juſt upon the *Revolution*; and what-

[b] *Anthony Hammond* Eſq; was Repreſentative for the Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

ever their *Theories* were, they did at that Criſis act rightly *per Viam Facti*, as the Civilians term it. To reconcile their Practice then to their ſpeculative Maxims before and ſince, their Proceedings as freeborn Subjects to the *Jura Sanguinis* and the *Indefeaſible Rights*; that is their Buſineſs, as Sir *Robert Marſham* uſed to ſay. But ſince I have touched upon this point, ſpare me a Word; I am, Dear *Hammond*, on the ſide of *Liberty*, I have traced this matter to its Source, and it may be perhaps of uſe to you at the *Roſe* or the *three Tuns*[c]. It may be obſerved, that Arguments ſupported with the ſtrongeſt Reaſons, and moſt convincing and cogent to us of the *Laity*, have not the ſame Efficacy and Weight with the *Clergy*; they ſtill oppoſe us, and contradict us even in Matters which we take to be the common and undoubted Rights belonging jointly and mutually to the *Parſon* as well as to the *Pariſhioner*. How is it poſſible, that Men of great Learning, Piety, and Reaſon ſhould not have the ſame Care of their own and our Rights as we have, and the ſame

[c] Taverns uſed by a ſelect Number of Members of of Parliament.

Conviction of what our Rights are, as we our ſelves have, upon clear Reaſon in plain terms offered to them. It certainly can ariſe only from hence, we muſt neceſſarily differ in Principles, and then it is not difficult to apprehend, that what is clear Senſe to Men of my Principle, may not affect the Judgment, nor guide the Conſciences of very good Men of a different Principle from me. My Principle is that the *King* is *King* by the Fundamental Law of the Land, and by the ſame Law, and no other, the meaneſt Subject enjoys the *Liberty* of his *Perſon* and *Property* in his *Eſtate*, and it is every Man's concern to defend this to his utmoſt, as well as the *King* in his lawful Rights and Prerogatives.

It is alſo my Principle that the Houſe of Lords and Commons are an eſſential part of the Government, and eſtabliſhed by Laws of equal Force and Validity with thoſe by which regal Power is ſettled among us. According to this Principle every honeſt Man that holds it muſt endeavour with equal Care and Courage to preſerve the Frame of our Government in all Parts and Branches of it, and cannot in Conſcience give up the one

to

to the other. He that from any indirect Motive, or from a Love of Eaſe ſhall depart from endeavouring this, will ſoon loſe the Sweetneſs of that Eaſe which induced him to be either falſe, or remiſs in the Service of his King and Country. But while ſome of the *Laity* are labouring in this Service, there are thoſe among the *Clergy*, who act upon another Principle, which they brought into the World about the Year 1640. We agree that the King and Government is to be obeyed for Conſcience ſake, and the Precepts of Religion require Obedience not only of the Subject here, but in all Parts of the World, to their lawful Governours; but this particular Frame of Government is our legal Conſtitution by the Laws of the Land. Monarchy by Divine Right cannot be bounded nor limited by human Laws, nor can it indeed effectually bound it-ſelf. All Claims veſted in the People collectively, or in Particulars, either by the Conſtitution of the Government, or by Law, all Juriſdictions and Privileges of the Houſe of Lords, all the Rights of the Houſe of Commons, all the Liberties and Properties of the People are, according to this Princi-

Principle, to be yeilded up, if required, not only to ſerve the Intereſt, but the Will and Pleaſure of the Crown. The beſt and worthieſt Men, holding this miſtaken notion muſt, if they act conformably to it, ſurrender accordingly. Could the *Lacedæmonian* Government have held long, if a Party among them of this Stamp had prevailed? This Principle was a main Occaſion of the *Civil Wars* among us, and contributed to bring us to the very brink of Ruin before the *Revolution*; and if it ſpreads again will be fatal to us by throwing us into Confuſions and Tumults: One Concluſion may be naturally drawn from the Subſtance of this Digreſſion, which will properly bring us to our Subject: The *Ephori* were the Guardians of Liberty at *Sparta*, as our *Parliaments* are *here*; and I muſt needs give the Preference to a Repreſentative of the People, as a better Security againſt the Encroachments of regal Power, than their *Ephori*, or the Tribunes among the *Romans*.

The *Athenians* making large Conqueſts in *Aſia*, began to eclipſe the *Spartan* Glory, upon which a War enſued between them, and after various Loſſes ſuſtained by *Athens*, they

they took the City and diſmantled it. Soon after this ſucceſs the War between them and the *Bœotians* broke out, who were underhand aſſiſted by the *Athenians*, and openly by the *Perſians*. Here they felt Shocks unknown to them before that time; I refer you to the Life of *Epaminondas* the *Theban*. Next they were involved in the *Holy War* of that Age, and much ſtreightned by *Philip* of *Macedon*; but ſtill they held their Liberty, till *Antigonus*, one who ſucceeded in a Part of *Alexander's* Empire, defeated *Cleomenes* their laſt King, killed his Brother and 6000 *Spartans*, entered the City, and was the firſt Man that ever was received into it as a Conqueror. This was 221 Years before the Chriſtian *Æra*, and above 700 Years from *Lycurgus*. Thus I have in a few Words given you a Crayon of the Hiſtory of the *Lacedæmonians*, which may be a Guide to you in reading any of the Occurrences of that *Government*. The moſt learned Civilian *P. Ærodius* in his *Collection of the Ancient adjudged Caſes*, (*ab omni Antiquitate*, as he expreſſes it, that agree with Reaſon and tend to the Illuſtration of the *Civil Laws*,) has many more

Caſes

Caſes drawn from *Precedents* among the *Lacedæmonians*, than from any other People; you may likewiſe obſerve that in *Valerius Maximus* the Inſtances of Wiſdom and Virtue taken from the *Spartans* bear no ſmall Proportion in his Rhapſody. Having *Lucius Florus* now in my Hands, (the Panegyrical Hiſtorian of the *Roman Commonwealth*,) I cannot omit mentioning the Account of a Defeat which he was to make the beſt of, and paſſing over the Number of thoſe ſlain and thoſe taken Priſoners: Hic paulùm circumacta Fortuna eſt, tantùm ut plura eſſent Romanæ urbis Inſignia, cujus ferè magnitudo calamitatibus approbatur. Nam converſis ad externa Auxilia hoſtibus, cum Xantippum illis ducem Lacedæmon miſiſſet, à viro militiæ peritiſſimo vincimur, cum fœdâ clade, Romaniſq; uſu incognita, vivus in manus hoſtium venit fortiſſimus Imperator, [Regulus [a].] This Action in our common Chronologies is placed 253 Years before Chriſt. We cannot form a juſter Idea of the Excellency and Efficacy of the

[a] See *Lucius Florus* on the firſt *Punic* War, Book II. Chap. ii.

Lacedæ-

Lacedæmonian Inſtitutions and Laws than by looking into the Lives of the great Men, who have been produced under that Government; a Liſt of ſome of them are given us by *Lucius Ampelius* as follows, *Lycurgus, Theopompus, Polydorus, Othryades, Leonidas, Pauſanias, Leander, Xantippus, Ageſilaus.*

The Ancient Civil Government of all *Greece,* (and that will take in *Peloponneſus*) may be conſidered. Firſt, in its Origination. Secondly, under the various Alterations it went through.

As to the firſt, its Origin, we ſhall find that ſome Governments aroſe from Conſent and Compact, and that in particular Cities, ſome were independent on any other for their Original, and others owed their Original to neighbouring Cities, who ſent out Colonies to plant them.

In the Alterations that happened in their Governments, ſome of them aroſe by Conſent among themſelves, as was the Caſe of *Lacedæmon,* and others of thoſe Alterations that aroſe by inteſtine Seditions, which made way for Uſurpation, and others were changed by Conqueſt from Abroad. I

have

have been the more minute in theſe Diviſions, becauſe I am perſuaded they may be of uſe in reading not only the *Grecian* Hiſtory, but alſo the Hiſtories of all other Parts of the World, if you trace them from their firſt Sources. For the clearer Diſcovery of theſe Points, as they relate to *Greece* it will be neceſſary to conſider the conſtituent Cauſe of Civil Government, *the People*, in their Origin, and in their Diſpoſitions and Manners: As to the firſt of theſe, we find two very differing accounts, ſome ſay they were deſcended from Anceſtors, who came thither from *Ionia*, *Doris* and *Æolia* in *Aſia Minor*; and others aſſert, that they were *Aborigines*, or ſprung out of the Earth, where they inhabited, and had always lived thereabouts; this is all the Notices we can have of them from their own Authors; the latter of which, however falſe it may be, ſerves to teach us thus much, that the Country had been inhabited time out of Mind: As to their Whimſey of being *Aborigines*, I think it ought rather to be looked upon as a frivolous Notion in their Philoſophy, than an Error in their Hiſtory; and ſince they endeavour to perſuade us that all the Weſtern Nations were derived

rived and peopled from them, why may we not rather conclude in arguing againſt their Notion, that they themſelves were Colonies from the South Eaſt Parts, rather than that their Land peopled it-ſelf, unleſs they pretended to prove that their Soil was better able, and more diſpoſed to bear Mankind than any other. If from their Origin we come to their Diſpoſitions and Manners in the moſt ancient Times, before they coaleſced into their reſpective Governments, we ſhall find them to have been very barbarous, and wandering from one Place to another in queſt of Food and Maintenance; thoſe who inhabited barren Countries, making frequent Incurſions upon thoſe that held the more fruitful, and theſe were often driven out to make room for others, and afterwards thoſe again expelled. The moſt fruitful Countries were the conſtant Scenes of ſuch Viciſſitudes: theſe Changes of Inhabitants were more frequent in *Peloponneſus*, than in *Attica*, which being more barren was leſs moleſted with theſe Per-mutations. Beſides theſe Inroads among themſelves, they were no leſs harraſſed on their Coaſts by the continued Invaſions of Pyrates, (an inſepara-

ble

ble Conſequence of Naval Superiority) who inhabited the Iſlands, and the Continent of *Aſia* bordering upon the Sea; which made them in thoſe early times not venture to live near the Sea. Thus they were in a State of almoſt perpetual War both abroad and at home: It is very obſervable how theſe Accounts correſpond with our firſt Diſcoveries in *America*; and thus it continued in *Greece*, till *Minos* King of *Crete* (now *Candia*) with his Fleet deſtroyed all the Pyrates, and ſet up ſeveral Governments, making his Sons, Princes. When the Seas were thus cleared, they became free for Trade, which induced the People to live upon the Coaſts of *Greece*, and to apply themſelves to the Art of Navigation, tho' *Lycurgus* prohibited Trade, as tending to foment Luxury, which was contrary to that Severity of Manners, and Parſimony of Living which he introduced; and tho' that Auſtere Method did not contribute to extend their Conqueſts, it gave them a long Duration within their own Bounds. Concerning the particular Governments of *Greece*, ſome were free and Independent on any other, and many aroſe from Colonies: as for the Foundation of

Sparta

Sparta or *Lacedæmon*, the Chronologers run it up ſo far back into the fabulous Age, that we cannot depend upon any thing certain either from *Pauſanias*, or *Stephanus* in his Treatiſe *De Urbibus*, who place the building of it about 1700 Years before the Birth of *Chriſt*, which was coeval with the Time when *Jacob* ſent his ten Sons to buy Corn in *Ægypt*: From thence till the Reign of *Menelaus* all things lye in Obſcurity; he was King of *Lacedæmonia*, and his ſtory too well known to be mentioned; his Son-in-Law *Oreſtes* having married *Hermione* became King of *Mycenæ* and *Sparta*, this was ſoon after the taking of *Troy*, from which Æra the Computation of the *Grecian* Hiſtory begins to acquire ſome degree of Certainty; and this was about the latter Part of the Age, when the Judges governed in *Iſrael*, about 1200 Years before *Chriſt*. When the Line of *Oreſtes* failed the *Heraclidæ*, (or Deſcendants of *Hercules*) governed *Lacedæmon*, *Mycenæ* and *Corinth*; there were ſeveral Branches of them, but the Kingdom of *Sparta* was in them, when *Lycurgus* gave them the Laws he brought from *Crete*, or framed himſelf for them. He

was Contemporary with *Homer*, and lived about 900 Years before *Chriſt*. *Ariſtotle* at the latter End of the Tenth Book of his *Ethics*, ſpeaking of the Force and Efficacy of Laws, draws an Argument from the Example of the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe Legiſlature had put the Education and Diſcipline of their Youth under the Direction of Publick Laws; and as they excelled their neighbouring Governments in this reſpect, ſo both *Ariſtotle* and *Xenophon* aſſign this as the Cauſe of that Superiority, which *Sparta* maintained over the other Cities of *Greece*, who being negligent in this important Point, a Diſſolution of Morals and Virtue was a Conſequence that neceſſarily followed it. There are Inſtances among them of proceeding to Judgment and Execution againſt State Criminals without tying themſelves down to the common Forms of their Courts of Judicature. When the Danger was great and imminent, they did not uſe the Formality of an Accuſation, and a legal Tryal, but to prevent worſe Conſequences proceeded in a Summary Way. This was an *Attainder* among them, and *Ageſilaus* gave a Precedent of it, when, as *Plutarch* recites the Caſe;

Caſe; the City being beſieged by the *Thebans* under their wiſe and valiant General *Epaminondas*, Information was given that ſome *Spartan* Citizens were met together in the Night on a treaſonable Deſign; whereupon *Ageſilaus*, by the Advice and Authority of the *Senate* and the *Ephori*, ſeized them upon the Spot, and immediately cauſed them to be put to Death without any open Proceſs, or Trial. Upon this *Valerius Maximus* obſerves in his ſeventh Book, that it was a very prudent Action in *Ageſilaus*, in ſuſpending upon that Occaſion the Laws of *Lycurgus*, which ſtrictly forbid the Puniſhment of uncondemned Perſons: *Comprehenſis autem & interfectis ſontibus eaſdem Lege ſe veſtigio reſtituit; atque utrumq; ſimul providit, ne ſalutaris Animadverſio, vel injuſta eſſet, vel jure impediretur: Itaq; ut ſemper eſſe poſſent, aliquando non fuerunt.* That is, having apprehended the Guilty and put them to Death, he preſently reſtored the Laws again.

Old Mr. *Henry Nevil*, whom you know they call *Plato* at the *Grecian* Coffee-Houſe[a];

[a] In *Devereux*-Court without *Temple-Bar* is a Coffee-Houſe ſo called, from its being originally kept by Mr. *George Conſtantine* a Greek.

from his being Author of an excellent Treatiſe intitled *Plato Redivivus*, Or a *Dialogue* concerning *Government*: Anno, 1681, wherein by Obſervations drawn from other Kingdoms and States, both ancient and modern, an endeavour is uſed to diſcover the preſent Politick Diſtemper of our own, with the Cauſes and Remedies. This wiſe and experienced Gentleman ſays, p. 248. "I "have ever thought that the *Ephori* of "*Sparta* were an admirable *Magiſtracy*, not "only for the Intereſt of the *People*, but "likewiſe of the Authority of the *Kings*, "and of their Lives too: for *Plutarch* ob-"ſerves that the City of *Mycenæ* and *Ar-"gos* had the ſame Government with *Lace-"dæmon*, and yet for want of erecting ſuch "an Authority as was in the *Spartan-Ephori*, "they were in perpetual Broils amongſt "themſelves; and for that Reaſon were "ever beaten by their Enemies; whereas "the *Spartans* were always victorious: and "at laſt in both thoſe Cities the *Kings* "were driven out, their Families extirpat-"ed, and the Government turned into a "Democracy." We may ſee from this, that *Theopompus* ſhewed a great Penetration into

into Futurity, as well as Moderation with regard to his own perſonal Power. When he inſtituted the *Ephori*, They told him he had leſſened the Grandeur of his Children: he replied; he ſhould indeed leave it leſs, but more laſting. *Optimè quidam*, ſays the *Roman* Author, *ea enim demum tuta potentia, quæ viribus ſuis modum imponit.*

THE END.

TRANSLATIONS

FROM

LUCIAN.

First Printed in the Year 1710.

LUCIAN
OF
SACRIFICES.

The ARGUMENT.

This is a general bold-ſpirited Satire upon all the Heathen Superſtition; their Gods, Temples, Altars, Sacrifices, and the whole Syſtem of the Pagan Worſhip. 'Tis writ with an Air and Spirit peculiar to the happy Genius of Lucian; *and I have this only Exception to it, That he ſeems to aſſign a wrong Original of Sacrifices, and to miſtake Folly and Deluſion in the People, for Deſign and Knavery in the Prieſts. I am glad, for the Honour of my Religion, that the Pagan Prieſts are the Reverſe of ours, and that a Satire upon them is a Panegyrick upon the Cler[illegible] of our Church, whoſe unſhaken Firm[illegible]*

to their Principles, Zeal for the Religion and Liberty of their Country, and a thouſand other great Qualities, may juſtly ſecure them from all the groundleſs Cavils of our modern Scepticks, whoſe Opinions no good Man can allow, and no wiſe Man will profeſs.

WHEN a thinking Man reflects upon the Honours we pay the Gods, and the Opinions we entertain of them, our ſolemn Feſtivals, the Forms and the Pomp of our Worſhip, and the whole Pageantry of the religious Farce, he muſt be in a very ill Humour if he can hold from laughing at ſo ridiculous a Scene: Tho', after all, 'twere worth while to enquire, whether this miſtaken Zeal of Mankind ought to be called Piety, or no: For I dare appeal to the general Senſe of all wiſe Men, if it is not a ſort of Blaſphemy to fancy, that the Gods are pleaſed with the humble Glory of being adored; that theſe immortal Powers are fond of the Smoke of Altars, and in pain for the omiſſion of thoſe Duties which the thoughtleſs World has been taught to pay them. Is it poſſible to form a more

a more criminal Idea of the Gods, than to paint them with all the Follies and Paſſions of Mankind? For the Poets aſſure us, that the ravaging of *Ætolia*, the Miſeries of the *Caledonians*, the Death of *Meleager* and ſo many brave Men, was nothing elſe but an Effect of *Diana*'s Revenge upon *Oeneus*, for neglecting to invite her to a Sacrifice with the reſt of the Gods. Methinks I ſee the Goddeſs all melancholy and diſconſolate in Heaven, fretting and fuming, and reſenting the Affront to the laſt degree, while the other Gods are revelling and making merry below. As for the *Æthiopians*, we have all the reaſon in the World to believe them the happieſt of Mortals. If *Jove* make 'em thoſe Returns, which in Honour and Gratitude he is obliged to, for an Entertainment of twelve Days which they made him and all the Hoſt of Heaven, as *Homer* tells us in the beginning of his Poem; at this rate the Bounty of the Gods is but Uſury, thoſe generous diſintereſted Benefactors to the World are but deſigning mercenary Beings, not above the ſordid Returns of Benefits: Their Favours are directed to no nobler Aims tha

to gain That double which they beſtow, and all their good Offices are proſtituted to the faireſt Bidder: Their Fury is diſarmed, and their Favour purchaſed by a Sacrifice. Health may be bought for an Heifer, and Riches at the expence of four Oxen: But a Hecatomb is the Price of a Kingdom, and a Sacrifice of nine Bulls pays for a ſafe return to *Pylos*. Thus *Agamemnon* bribed them with the Blood of a Royal Virgin for a Wind to *Troy*; and *Hecuba* preſented *Minerva* with twelve Bulls and an embroidered Gown, to buy a Reprieve for *Troy*. And no doubt we may compound with the Gods upon eaſier Terms, and purchaſe many a fair Boon at the expence of a Cock, a Garland, or a Handful of Frankincenſe. *Chryſes*, the Prieſt of *Apollo*, a Man of Age and Experience, who knew the mercenary Temper of the Gods, and the moſt prevailing Motives to engage them in his Quarrel, when *Agamemnon* had refuſed to do him Juſtice, arraigns his God for Ingratitude, claims his Protection, as a Debt to his Merit, inſults him in a huffing Tone, and ſcarce forbears ill Language: *Is this*, ſays he, *the Reward of ſuffering Virtue? Are theſe the generous*

rous Returns you make your Votaries? Am I to be thus recompenſed for all my paſt Services? For crowning your Temples and ſtaining your Altars with the Blood of ſo many Bulls and Goats? This Speech wrought ſuch an effect upon the God, that he immediately ſnatched his Bow and Arrows, and poſting himſelf near the Grecian Fleet, in a raging Fury, let fly whole Vollies of Arrows, and ſhattered Diſeaſes and Contagions thro' the whole Army, without ſparing the innocent Aſſes and Mules, who all felt the Divine Vengeance. The Mention of *Apollo*, puts me in Mind of ſome other Stories which theſe hair-brained Zealots have fathered upon him, not to name his unſucceſsful Amours, the Murder of *Hyacinthus*, nor the Scorn of *Daphne*, but his Baniſhment from Heaven is his top Adventure: For *Jove* ſtript him of his Divinity, degraded him to a Man, and ſent him down a grazing upon Earth, to do Penance for the Murder of the Cyclops. In this Diſtreſs he was forced to take Refuge in *Theſſaly*, and be a Journey-man to *Amelus*; and in *Phrygia*, he and *Neptune* turned Bricklayers to *Laomedon*, to keep themſelves from ſtarving, and

whe

when they had built up the Walls of *Troy*, were cheated of their Wages by *Laomedon*; who, to this very Day, is thirty Trojan Drachma's in Arrears to them. Are not theſe and a thouſand other ridiculous Legends ſung of the Gods by the Poets, who have made 'em the ſhining Parts of their Poems, and heightened them with all the majeſtick Air of heroick Poetry? Tho' this is nothing in compariſon of the Godlike Attributes they are pleaſed to beſtow upon *Vulcan*, *Prometheus*, *Saturn*, *Rhea*, and, in one word, upon the whole Race of *Jupiter*. And what's remarkable, theſe Panegyricks upon the Gods are uſhered in by a ſolemn Invocation of the Muſes, whoſe Aſſiſtance they implore; and then, inſpired by a divine Impulſe, ſing the Hiſtory of the Gods; that *Saturn* gelt his Father *Ouranos*, and then uſurped the Empire of the World, and levelled every thing that lay in the Way of his Glory: That, to reign without a Rival, he devoured his own Children, like another *Thyeſtes*: That *Rhea* had the Addreſs to conceal *Jupiter*, and palm a Stone upon his Father; that the young God was expoſed in *Crete*, and nurſed by a Goat, as *Telephus*

Iephus was by a Deer, and the firſt and great *Grus* by a Bitch. That he afterwards depoſed his Father, made him a Priſoner, and invaded his Crown; then made all Heaven a Brothel-houſe, married an infinite number of Wives, and, laſt of all, his own Siſter *Juno*, in Imitation of the Aſſyrians and Perſians, among whom Inceſt is tolerated by the Laws of the Land. The next Scene of his Life is his Luſt, which they make as boundleſs as his Command; that he ſtocked all Heaven with a Race of Baſtards, ſome of whom were begot by a kindly Mixture of God and Goddeſs; others were of a mortal Strain, a mungrel Race, half Human, half Divine; that he transformed himſelf into more variety of Shapes than ever *Proteus* did; into Gold, a Swan, an Eagle, a Bull, in the purſuit of his Amours. 'Tis true, in his Brain, he conceived *Minerva* and brought her into the World without a Mother's Pain. *Bacchus*, half formed, he ſnatched from his burning Mother, and buried him in his own Thigh, and at nine Months end was brought to bed of him. Nor have they given *Juno* better Quarter; they pretend, that ſhe conceived without the help

help of a Man, and was delivered of poor *Vulcan*, a ſooty gloomy God, that dealt in Smoke and Charcoal, and worked Day and Night at the Anvil: And, to his other Misfortunes, was made a Cripple by *Jupiter*, who in a Rage flung him headlong out of Heaven, and the poor God had infallibly broke his Neck, like another *Aſtyanax*, if the good-natured *Lemnicus* had not taken Pity of him, and ſaved him in a Blanket, which broke the Fall; but he contracted a Lameneſs he could never be cured of. But this is nothing to the ſevere Treatment of *Prometheus*; every one knows how dear he paid for his Kindneſs to the World; *Jupiter* in a Paſſion hurried him away into *Scythia*, and bound him faſt on *Caucaſus*, with an Eagle eternally preying upon his Liver, to puniſh him for his bold Theft. But the wild Frolicks and Sallies of *Rhea* muſt not go unmentioned. What in the Name of Wonder could tempt a Perſon of her Years and Gravity, to act a Part ſo unbecoming the Mother of the Gods, to fall in Love with a Boy? What Excuſe can ſhe plead for this extravagant Fit of Jealouſie, for her carrying him with her in a Chariot drawn by Lions,

and ſtrolling about the World in this frantick Equipage, with a Boy who was not capable of making her thoſe Returns of Gallantry ſhe expected? And, after this, will any one dare condemn the innocent Intrigues of *Venus*, or blame *Diana*, for deſcending from her Orb, to the Careſſes of her dear *Endymion?* But let's quit this Scene, and take a poetick Flight to Heaven, by the ſame Road that *Homer* and *Heſiod* have traced out to the World, and take a full View of the Oeconomy of Heaven, and how Matters are managed above. *Homer* diſcovered long ago, that the outer Vault of the Firmament was a brazen Arch, which when you have mounted and croſſed the Ramparts of the Skies, and entered the Empyreal Heaven, there appears an aſtoniſhing Blaze of Light, an eternal Day, a calm Serenity of Nature, never ruffled, never diſcompoſed; the Sun and Stars ſhine with unalterable Glories, the Pavement is all Gold, and the Eye in the endleſs Round meets with nothing but an univerſal Scene of Light. The winged Horſes keep guard at the Gates, *Mercury* and *Iris*, the Scouts and Expreſſes of the Gods, are poſted next. Beyond them is *Vulcan's*

Shop, full of all ſorts of Inſtruments and artificial Fire-works. Next ſtands the Palace of the Gods, ſplendid above all Imagination, contrived and finiſhed by *Vulcan.* There *Jove*, high on a royal Throne, ſits in the Circle of the Gods, ſurveying all the World below,

— In hopes ſome welcome Fires to deſcry,
Or bleeding Altars crown'd with curling Smoke.
Homer.

And if the Spirit of Devotion poſſeſſes the World that Day, and a Sacrifice is offered to them, they all bow their Heads, and ſnuff up the Incenſe and Fume, and riot, like Flies, upon the Blood of the Victim. But if they dine at their own Coſt, they take up with their own Nectar and Ambroſia. Mankind was formerly admitted to their Banquets, as *Ixion* and *Tantalus*; But both are ſeverely puniſhed to this Day, one for attempting a Rape upon *Juno*, the other for betraying their Secrets, and no Mortal ſince had the Honour of their Company.

This is the Life the Gods lead, and the whole Syſtem of the Divine Worſhip has been

formed agreeable to the extravagant Ideas the World has framed of theſe formidable Fantoms. In the early Dawn of Superſtition, Mankind was content to conſecrate their Groves, Mountains, and Plants to ſome particular God. The prevailing Folly advanced by Degrees, and then every Nation made a God free of their State, and choſe him for their Tutelar Genius and Guardian. Thus *Apollo* was the Patron of *Delphos* and *Delos*, and *Athens* was under the immediate Care and Protection of *Minerva* or *Athena*, as is viſible from the Name. *Juno* had her Privilege in *Argos*, *Rhea* in *Mygdonia*, and *Venus* in *Pathos*. The Cretans lay claim not only to the Birth of *Jupiter*, but pretend to ſhew his Tomb ſtill extant; and the World has been deluded for many Ages in fancying that *Jove*, who died and was buried in *Crete*, thunders and rains, and ſits at the buſie Helm of the Univerſe. The next Progreſs Superſtition made was the erecting Temples in honour of theſe imaginary Guardians, and Statues and Images finiſhed by thoſe great Maſters of Antiquity, *Phidias*, *Praxiteles*, and *Polycletus*. Tho' 'tis un accountable where thoſe Gods ſate for th

Pictures, or how theſe Statuaries diſcovered their Features and Habits; as for inſtance, *Jove* is always repreſented with a long Beard, *Mercury* in the Bloom of his Youth, *Neptune* with black Hair, and *Minerva* with grey Eyes. The poor Enthuſiaſts who enter into their Temples, can never imagine that the Image they adore, is a native Piece of Ivory brought from the *Indies*, or Gold dug out of the Thracian Mines, but the real Son of *Saturn* and *Rhea*, drawn down from Heaven by *Phidias*, and horſed on that Image, and commanded to guard the Plains of *Piſa*, upon condition that a Sacrifice be offered to him once in five Years, together with the additional Honour of the Olympick Games. This Folly was ſucceeded by a worſe, the erecting of Altars, and to give the finiſhing Stroke to Superſtition, Oracles, * conſecrated Chalices, and Sacrifices were introduced into the World. Some offered Frankincenſe, others Cakes, the Plowman ſacrificed his Ox, the Goatherd his Goat, and the Shepherd his Lamb, and made the Blood of innocent Beaſts atone

* περιῤῥαντήρια.

for

for guilty Man. But the poor Supplicant, who had no Victim to fall for him, kiſſed the Hand of his God, and ſo made his Peace with him. But to return to the Manner and Forms of their SACIRFICES; they are firſt of all extremely cautious in the choice of a Beaſt, for fear of offending the God, by offering an unlawful Victim; they make a diligent Inquiry whether 'tis ſound and intire in all its Parts, and duly qualified for that great Honour; and when that's done, crown it with a Garland, lead it in ſtate to the Altar, and knock it down in the Preſence of the God; the poor Beaſt, all the time of its Execution, making a mournful Noiſe, or, as we may eaſily apprehend, dying with good Omens and Bleſſings in its Mouth, contenting it-ſelf to its Death, and with its expiring Breath, lowing in Concert with the Divine Service. Can any one imagine, that the Gods are not raviſhed with this Sight? Over the Door of the Temple ſtands a Bill to give warning, that no unhallowed Perſon approach the Altar, or come within the reach of the conſecrated Veſſels. Then the Divine Butcher, like another Cyclops, diſſects the Beaſt, draws out the Intrails,

plucks out the Heart, and pours out the Blood upon the Altar, and performs the reſt of the Ceremony; and laſt of all, kindles the Pile of Wood, claps on the Goat, Skin and all, and ſo burns them. Then the Sacred Fumes mount on high, and ſpread themſelves by degrees over all the Heavens. The Scythians ſcorn theſe humble Offerings, and think no Victim worthy of their Goddeſs *Diana*, but a Human one. In *Greece* Superſtition ſeems to have been reſtrained within tolerable Bounds, and the Lydian, Aſſyrian and Phrygian Worſhip, amidſt a thouſand Fooleries, has an Air of Grandeur and a Face of Authority. But *Egypt* preſents us with another Scene of Devotion, and a Strain of Religion beyond any thing the reſt of the World can boaſt of: There, the divine Honours have a becoming Reverence worthy of Heaven and the God they are addreſſed to. What can be more auguſt than *Jove* with a Ram's Head, and *Mercury* with a Dog's, *Pan* all a Goat, another God an *Ibis*, a third a Crocodile, and a fourth an Ape? If you take the Pains to enquire into the true Reaſon of this fantaſtick Worſhip, the Scribes, Philoſophers, and Prophets, with their

their Beards cloſe ſhaved, will tell you the whole Myſtery (after the uſual Preface of, *Hence ye profane*) that the Gods, in the Rebellion of the Giants, were driven out of Heaven, and in a pannick Fright forced to take ſhelter in *Egypt*; where, for their own ſecurity, they transformed themſelves into Beaſts; one into a Ram, a ſecond into a Bird, a third into another Beaſt; and that they have ever ſince been adored in the Shapes they then aſſumed. And for a Proof of this, they vouch the Authority of their Annals, which they pretend to be of ten thouſand Years ſtanding, very accurately compoſed and preſerved in their Temples. Their Sacrifices are the ſame with other Nations, with this difference only, that they mourn over the dead Beaſt, and give it devout Burial. As for *Apis*, the moſt adored of all their Gods, when he dies all *Egypt* is in Tears for the publick Loſs, every Man ſhaves his Head, and would think he profaned the God, if he let his Hair grow, he had the Purple Lock of *Nyſus*, who had Succeſs and Happineſs entailed upon it. This [a] *Apis*, who is ſingled out from the reſt, and

[a] See the 3d Book of *Herodotus*.

*voted a God, is the nobleſt and beſt ſhaped Beaſt in the Herd, and born with the Marks of Divinity upon him.

The miſtaken Part of the World who believe theſe groſs and popular Opinions of the Gods, and uſe all this fantaſtick Train of Ceremonies, do not much ſtand in need of the Severity of a ſerious Reproof, as a *Heraclitus* and a *Democritus*, one to ridicule their Madneſs, the other to lament their Folly.

* χειροτονήμενος.

HERODOTUS,

OR

AETION.

The ARGUMENT.

Lucian *in his Satires, having laſhed all Orders and Degrees of Men, with all the old and new Follies of the Heathen Religion, in this little Piece has given us an Eſſay how well he could have ſucceeded in Panegyrick, tho' the Bent of his Genius gave him a ſtronger Byaſs to Satire. 'Tis a Speech, by way of Preface to a Recital of his Works before a numerous Audience in* Macedonia, *that was the Occaſion and Subject of this ſhort Diſcourſe.*

WOuld to God I could imitate the other Excellencies of *Herodotus*, I don't ſay all, for it would be a vain Preſumption to

to hope to copy every Beauty of ſo great an Original, who was the Glory of the Age he lived in, and will be the Shame and Deſpair of all ſucceeding ones. I would be content with imitating any one particular Excellency; as for example, the Elegance of his Style, the Juſtneſs of his Compoſitions, the Propriety and Native Purity of his Ionick Dialect, and Gravity of his Sentences, or any ſingle one of a thouſand inimitable Beauties by which he has diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Theſe Graces are indeed above our reach, but his Way of making himſelf ſo univerſally known to all *Greece* in ſo ſhort a time, You or I or any Man may imitate. Spurred on, by a noble Ambition, after Fame, he ſailed from *Caria* into *Greece*, where he began to conſider with himſelf of the moſt effectual Means of ſpreading the Reputation of himſelf and his Writings over all *Greece*. To make the Circle of the whole Country, to viſit every State and Province, and read his Hiſtory to every particular City, was a Work of too much Pains and Difficulty, and required too much Time. This Project he immediately declined, and reſolved to ſteer a ſhorter Courſe to Fame; and

and without theſe inſenſible Degrees, found a more compendious Way to raiſe himſelf all at once in a general Aſſembly of *Greece*. The Olympick Games were at hand, and now *Herodotus*, imagining the Time was arrived, for which he had ſo long waited, and obſerving the vaſt Concourſe of People, and eſpecially of the Nobility, which flocked thither from all Parts of *Greece*, upon ſo ſolemn an Occaſion, he laid hold of the Opportunity, and entred into the Temple of *Jupiter*; where, inſtead of a Spectator, he made himſelf a Combatant, and read his Hiſtory to a numerous Audience, with ſuch univerſal Applauſe, that his nine Books were called by the Names of the nine Muſes, and he himſelf was better known than the Conquerors in the Games. Every one knew the Name of *Herodotus*, ſome heard it at *Olympia*, and others had it from thoſe who were there. Wherever he appeared, all the World pointed at him, and ſaid, *That is* Herodotus, *who wrote the Hiſtory of the* Perſian *War in the* Ionick *Dialect, and celebrated our Victories. Herodotus* was amply recompenſed, by having his Hiſtory crowned with the univerſal Suffra[illegible]

of the Aſſembly, and ſtamped into a Value by the common Voice of *Greece*. He was not like the common Conquerors in the Games, proclaimed by one Cryer; but every City, that had any of its Citizens Spectators at *Olympia*, and all *Greece* were the common Heralds of his Fame. *Hippias* the *Elean* Rhetorician, *Prodicus* the *Cean*, *Anaximenes* the *Chian*, and *Polus* the *Agrigentine*, with many others, perceiving this to be the ſhorteſt Cut to Fame, purſued his Example, and repeated their Works at the Olympick Games, and quickly gained a Reputation. But what need I produce the Authorities of theſe old Rhetoricians, Hiſtorians, and Orators, when ſo lately *Aetion* the Painter, after he had drawn the Marriage of *Alexander* and *Roxana*, expoſed it to the publick View of the Aſſembly at *Olympia*, with ſo much Succeſs, that *Proxenides*, the Judge of the Games, in Admiration of his Art, made him his Son-in-law. Perhaps you'll demand, what was there ſo extraordinary in this Piece, to deſerve ſuch a Reward, and to tempt *Proxenides* to beſtow his Daughter on a Stranger? I have ſeen the Picture in *Italy*, and can give you a full Deſcription of

of it. There is firſt drawn, a very rich Bed-chamber, and a nuptial Bed, on which ſits the beautiful *Roxana*, with a modeſt down-caſt Look, becoming the Innocence of a Virgin. Hard by, ſtand ſeveral ſmiling Loves, one draws off *Roxana*'s Veil, and ſhews her to her Bridegroom; another very officiouſly draws off her Slippers, as a Summons to her to prepare for the ſoft Buſineſs of the Night. Another takes hold of *Alexander*'s Robe, and draws him with great Force towards *Roxana*. The King preſents her with a Crown. *Hephæſtion*, the Brideman, ſtands by with a lighted Torch in his Hand, ſupported by a very handſome Youth, whom I gueſs to be *Hymenæus*, for there is no Name written underneath him. On the other ſide of the Piece, are drawn ſeveral Loves, playing with the Arms of *Alexander*. Two of them carry his Spear on their Shoulders, like Porters, bending beneath the Weight of a heavy Beam. Two others take his Buckler, with a Man like the King ſtretched upon it, and draw it along by the Handles. Another creeps into *Alexander*'s Coat of Mail, and lies in Ambuſh, to fright the others as they paſs by. We muſt not imagine this laſt Piece

LUCIAN's Dialogue WITH *HESIOD.*

The ARGUMENT.

This Dialogue is a pleaſant Satire upon Heſiod, *for pretending to be Divinely inſpired by the Muſes, with the Knowledge of future Events. The Philoſophers, with all their Gravity, could not eſcape the Raillery of* Lucian, *and the Poets, who lay ſo open, had, of all Men, the leaſt Reaſon to expect fair Quarter from him. For they were the firſt Inventors of all the old Fables, and Superſtitions of the Heathen Religion, which ſo fatally overſpread the World for many Ages, and at which* Lucian's *Satires are chiefly levelled. Theſe Poeti-*

Poetical Fictions gave him an ample Subject for Satire, which was extremely enlarged by ſome Fooleries, and Superſtitions introduced newly into the Heathen Religion, by the bold Impoſtors of his own Age and Memory, Peregrinus *and* Alexander, *and by* Apollonius Tyanæus, *who lived not long before him. All theſe impudent Cheats and Hypocrites he has moſt dextrouſly unmasked, and expoſed to the World in their true Colours.*

Lucian. THE happy daring, and the noble Enthuſiaſm of your Poetry, is a Proof, that you received your Inſpiration, together with your Laurel, from the Hands of the Muſes. This we readily allow. But after all, there is another Difficulty ſtill remaining behind. You aſſure us, in the beginning of your *Theogony*, that you were inſpired by the Muſes with this prophetick Rage, to ſing the Story of former Ages, and to foretel the Fate of thoſe to come. Your Poems confirm the Truth of the former Part of your Aſſertion; you have traced the Pedigree of the Gods, up to their firſt Original; to the Chaos,

Earth, Heaven, and Love; who were the primitive Deities. You have ſung of the Virtues of Women, and given Rules for Agriculture; and, in general, have ſaid all that was neceſſary, concerning the Pleiades, and the proper Seaſons of Plowing, Mowing, and Navigation. As for the other Part, which would have been of greater Advantage to Mankind, and a Gift more agreeable to the ordinary Favours of the Gods, you have entirely omitted it; and there is not one Syllable in your Poems to warrant the Truth of this imaginary Gift of Prophecy. In this you have acted quite contrary to *Calchas*, *Polyidus*, *Phineus*, and *Telephus*; who, tho' they never pretended to this chimerical Inſpiration from the Muſes, made no Scruple to give Anſwers to all that conſulted 'em. So that, in ſhort, you are guilty of one of theſe three Faults; either the Promiſe, which you pretend the Muſes made you, was in plain Terms, a downright Lye; or elſe the Muſes were as good as their Words, and you envy the Knowledge of ſuch uſeful Diſcoveries to the World; or, perhaps, you compoſed ſome Poems of this kind, but reſerved the publiſhing of them

them to I know not what time, for Reaſons beſt known to your ſelf: For I dare not ſay, that the Muſes made you a Promiſe of a double Favour, and made good one half, and then recalled the other Part of their Grant; eſpecially when the Promiſe of inſpiring you with the Knowledge of Things to come, was made before the other. From whom therefore can I learn the true Reaſon but from you? For, as the Gods are the Benefactors of Mankind, ſo 'tis the Duty of you, who are their Favourite and Pupil, to reſolve truly all our Doubts, and publiſh what you know for the common Benefit of the World.

Heſiod. I could eaſily anſwer your Objection, by telling you, that I have no Property in my own Works; that I was only a paſſive Inſtrument to the Call of the Muſes; and, that they are accountable for all my Writings, and all my Omiſſions. As for theſe Poems which I wrote upon my own Bottom, without the Succours of the Muſes, and my Rules for feeding and governing the Flock, and, in general, for all Duties and Employments of a Shepherd, for theſe I own 'tis reaſonable I ſhould make a De-

fence. I might allege, in behalf of my other Poems, that the Muſes beſtow their Favours on whom they pleaſe, and as long only and as far forth, as they think it proper and convenient. But, waving this general Plea, I'll make a more particular Apology for my Works. Our poetical Cenſurers ought to judge with more Candour and good Nature, they ought not to examine every Word and Syllable, by all the Rigour of the Rules, nor damn an Author for every little Negligence or Miſtake. Poetry cannot bear the Teſt of ſo ſevere a Scrutiny. Theſe falſe Criticks ought to conſider, that Poets are ſometimes obliged to make thoſe little Slips, for the ſake of their Numbers, and their Meaſure, and to give Sound and Smoothneſs to their Verſes. But you ſtrike at the very Root of Poetry, and rob us of our great Charter, the Liberty of Feigning and Inventing. You overlook all the Beauties and Graces of a Poem, and only view it by its weak Side, you make trifling Cavils and Exceptions at little Errors, from which human Nature is not free. You are not the firſt Man, that has pretended to this arbitrary Power, nor I the only Poet, that has

has been attacked by theſe ſnarling Judges. My Brother Poet, the Divine *Homer*, was not exempt from their Malice. His Aſhes were arraigned, and his Reputation thought lawful Prize, by ſome envious Criticks for Trifles not worth naming. But if, laying aſide this general Defence, I muſt plead directly to your Charge, I appeal to my *Works* and *Days*, read that Poem over, and you will find the whole Piece full of Predictions and Divinations. There I have foretold the Advantages of a due and ſeaſonable Method of Husbandry, and the ill Conſequences of any Omiſſion. Witneſs theſe Verſes,

A Field untimely plow'd, yields no Return,
No Hoards, no welcome Stores of bearded Corn.

Lucian. The Art of Divination is of infinite uſe to Mankind, but the Inſtances you produce, are no more than every Shepherd could have foretold. This ſilly Defence ſeems to confirm the Truth of your Aſſertion, that your Works were inſpired by the Muſes, and not of your own compoſing. We expected Predictions of another kind from you and the Muſes. For every common

Plow-man can tell, as well as you, that a rainy Summer is the Fore-runner of a good Harveſt, and a dry one of a Dearth and Famine. Any Man can tell you, without the help of Inſpiration, that the Lands are not to be tilled in Summer; that Seed thrown at random will bring forth no crop; that Corn muſt not be reaped while 'tis green, for the Seed is then ſoft, and not fully ripened. 'Tis eaſie to foretel, without being a Prophet, that if the Seed is not covered over, and the Ground harrowed, the Birds will fly upon it, and deſtroy all the Hopes of an Harveſt. Theſe are no more than common Rules and Precepts of Agriculture, and of a different Nature from Predictions. For the Buſineſs of a Prophet is to foretel contingent Events beyond the reach of human Wit to know. To tell *Minos*, that his Son ſhould be ſtifled in a Barrel of Honey, to reveal the Cauſe of *Apollo*'s Anger to the *Greeks*, and that *Troy* ſhould be taken after a ten Years Siege: This is true Prophecy, and bears the Stamp of Inſpiration. But, if your Predictions may be allowed to paſs for Prophecies, by the ſame Rule I may lay claim to the Gift of Divina-

Divination. For, without the *Caſtalian* Water, the Laurel, or the *Delphick* Tripod, I will venture to prophecy, that if a Man walks naked in Rain, Hail, or the depth of Winter, he ſhall be ſeized with a cold Fit of an Ague, and, what's more, that a hot Fit ſhall ſucceed, and a hundred other Things of the ſame Nature, which 'twould be ridiculous to mention. So that if you will take my Advice, wave this frivolous Defence, and ſtick to your old Plea, tha you had no Share in the Compoſition of theſe Poems; that every Line was dictated by an Inſpiration, which was indeed Divine, tho' not very certain and ſteady; for otherwiſe it would not have performed one half of its Promiſe, and neglected the other half.

LUCIAN's Panegyrick UPON *DEMOSTHENES.*

The ARGUMENT.

Tho' Satire ſeems to have been the particular Talent of Lucian, *which he has ſo admirably well employed in ridiculing the Folly of the Heathen Worſhip, and other Superſtitions newly crept into the World; yet in this Piece he has given us one of the compleateſt Models for Panegyrick that ever was made. This Diſcourſe is written by Way of Dialogue, and is divided into two Parts. The firſt begins with a Diſpute between* Lucian *and* Therſagoras, *upon the Merit of* Homer *and* Demoſthenes; *where* Therſagoras, *tho' a Poet, and a pro-*

a profeſs'd Admirer of Homer, *prefers* Demoſthenes, *at leaſt places him upon the ſame Level with* Homer. *The ſecond Part is a Dialogue between* Antipater *and* Archias, *who, in ſpite of their Averſion and Prejudice to* Demoſthenes, *do him all the Juſtice imaginable; which is a convincing Proof of his great Merit, ſince that alone was capable of forcing ſo honourable a Character from the Mouth of an Enemy. This is true Praiſe, true Panegyrick, and every Man that has a Taſte of the Delicacy of this Way of Writing, will eaſily find it to be no common Addreſs.* Lucian *in this Piece raiſes his Tone, and does not write with that free Air of common Diſcourſe, which is the Beauty of his other Dialogues; but this was owing to the Dignity of his Subject, which obliged him to go beyond the Bounds of ordinary Converſation.*

AS I was walking in the *Portico* at *Athens*, on the 16th Day of the Month, about Noon, on the left Hand, as you go out, I met my Friend *Therſagoras*, one who perhaps is no Stranger to ſome here: He

is

is a little fair Man, of a ſtrong Make, with a great *Roman* Noſe: Seeing him at a diſtance, making toward me, I eaſily gueſſed it was *Therſagoras* the Poet. After the uſual Compliments, I asked him whence he came, and where he was going? I came from Home, replied he, with a Deſign to take a Walk; for I roſe very early this Morning, to dedicate the Firſt-fruits of my Poetry to *Homer*, on his Birth-day. 'Tis generouſly done, replied I, to pay him this Tribute, in return for the great Advantages you derived from the reading his Works. I was ſo intent on my Poem, replied *Therſagoras*, that I did not perceive 'twas Noon. I have a long time deſigned to make my Addreſſes to this great Man, pointing to *Homer*, (for you know his Statue ſtands in *Ptolomy*'s Temple, on the right Hand, and is remarkable for his long Hair) I am now come to pay my Devotions to him, and pray for an Inſpiration. Would to God, replied I, our Prayers could prevail; for, if they could have any effect, I would long ago have invoked the Aid of my Patron *Demoſthenes*; I would have begged him to aſſiſt me in the Compoſition of a *Panegyrick* upon his Birth-day,

to

to infuſe ſome of his Spirit and Genius into me, and inſpire me with Words and Thoughts ſuitable to ſuch an Occaſion. If theſe great Men would hear their Votaries, and favour their Prayers, I would purſue your Example; for it equally concerns us both, and the Gain would be in common. For my part, ſays *Therſagoras*, I have ſpent all the Morning in Writing a Poem upon *Homer*, to ſhew how much I value and honour his Merit. 'Twas in Obedience to the Summons of my Muſe; for, without Vanity, I was tranſported with the Fury of a Poet, as you ſhall judge immediately; for I brought it in my Pocket, to ſhew it to any of my Friends, whom I found at leiſure, as I ſee you are. *Therſagoras*, you are a happy Man, replied I; and, like a Conqueror in the *Olympick* Games, who, when he has won the Prize, wipes off the Duſt, and views, with a ſecret Joy, the reſt of the Spectators; and talks unconcernedly with the next that is to enter the Liſts. But, ſays *Therſagoras*, you would not talk ſo ſecurely at the Starting-poſt; and you rather ſeem to have won the Race, and to mock one who is in pain for the Succeſs of the Courſe: For there is no reaſon

ſon for Suſpenſe in ſo eaſy a Task as you have undertaken. It ſeems then, replied I, you prefer *Homer* to *Demoſthenes*, and glory in your *Panegyrick*, and imagine there is no difficulty in praiſing *Demoſthenes*. You wrong me, ſays *Therſagoras*, for I would not breed any Quarrel between thoſe great Men, tho' I own my ſelf to be in the Intereſt of *Homer*. And don't you think me, replied I, a greater Favourer of *Demoſthenes?* But you have a very mean Opinion of *Oratory:* You think *Poetry* the only Study that requires Pains; you are inſenſible to the Beauties of *Proſe*, and deſpiſe it as much as a Horſe-man does a Foot-man. God forbid, ſays *Therſagoras*, I ſhould be ſo mad, tho' great *Poets* ſhould be always nearly allied to Mad-men. Yes, replied I, and an *Orator too, if he aims at Greatneſs; and Elevation ſhould be inſpired with a prophetick Fury, and write with the Enthuſiaſm and Emotion of a Man poſſeſſed.* 'Tis true, ſays *Therſagoras*, and I am infinitely pleaſed with ſingling out ſome particular Places of *Demoſthenes* and other Orators, and comparing the Strength, the Beauty, the Vehemence, and the Bitterneſs of them, with

ſome Paſſages of *Homer*. As for inſtance, *Homer* calls *Agamemnon* a Drunkard, ſo *Demoſthenes* laſhes the Debauchery, Drunkenneſs and Buffoonry of King *Philip*; and, as the *Poet* ſays,

——— [a] *'Tis an auſpicious Sign,——*
When gallant Heroes fight *their country's Cauſe*
And ſtake their Lives for Glory and Applauſe.

What can be more like than this Sentence of the Orator, *That brave Men ought to defend their Country with great Hopes?* So this Verſe of *Homer*,

[b] *How would the venerable* Peleus *mourn,*

has a near Reſemblance with this Paſſage of *Demoſthenes*, *How would theſe gallant Men be afflicted, who ſacrificed their Lives to Glory and the Liberty of their Country.* I often make a Parallel between the [c] flowing

[a] Homer, *Iliad the 12th.*
[b] *Iliad the 7th.*
[c] The νιφάδες λεγῶν is very well explained by *Pliny*, in his 20th Epiſtle of his 1ſt Book, *Oratio ſimilis nivibus hybernis, id eſt creta, aſſidua, larga:* A Style like to the Winter-Snow; that is, a copious, large, diffuſed Style.

Style

Style of *Python* and the copious Stream of *Ulyſſes*'s Eloquence. Thus I compare theſe Lines of *Homer:*

* *Could we live on, ſtill warm with youthful Rage,*
In the full Vigour of our blooming Age;
Could aught our unrelenting Fate delay;
Durſt we the awful Summons diſobey,
And plead Exemption *from Mortality——*
But oh! theſe Hopes are vain, and all muſt go
To endleſs Joys above, or endleſs Pains below.

With this Thought of the Orator, *Death is the utmoſt Limit, and the laſt Extremity of our Lives, and we ſhould infallibly dye, tho' we ſhut up our ſelves in a Cloiſter:* In ſhort, there are a thouſand Places where theſe great Geniuses have almoſt the ſame Thoughts and Words. How delicately has *Demoſthenes* touched the Paſſions; how am I moved and affected with his Speeches; the Juſtneſs of his Figures; the Purity of his Words; his entertaining Digreſſions, and agreeable Returns from them; the Elegance and Beauty of his Similies; that Spirit and Mettle which never tires, and the Warmth that enlivens his Diſcourſe, do at once raviſh and

* *Iliad the* 12*th.*

amaze me. And, to own the Truth, I am of Opinion that when the Softneſs and Degeneracy of the *Athenians* had armed him with a juſt Fury, when he let looſe all the Reins to his Satire, he has more ſeverely laſhed the Sloth and Cowardiſe of his Countrymen than *Homer* has done by calling them Women. He deſcribes the Tumults and Diſorders of *Greece* in a more lively animated manner than *Homer*, who weakens and enervates the Force of his Poem, by introducing his Heroes and Men of Courage making long tedious Speeches in the Heat of the Fight. And very often the Numbers of *Demoſthenes*, the Cadence of his Periods, and the Sweetneſs of his Style, have all the Muſick and Harmony of Poetry. As *Homer*, on the other ſide, has very beautiful Antitheſiſes and Similies, the Boldneſs and the Purity of his Figures have all the Strength of Proſe, and he ſeems to have added every Improvement of Art to all the Advantages of Nature: And, after this, do you imagine, that I entertain a ſlender Opinion of Eloquence? Not but I ſtill think it infinitely harder to make a *Panegyrick* upon *Homer* than *Demoſthenes*; not ſo much upon the

ſcore

ſcore of the Verſes, and the Difficulty in compoſing them, as the Narrowneſs of the Subject; for *Homer*'s Poetry is the only thing can be praiſed in him, becauſe we are unacquainted with his Country, Deſcent, and Age he lived in: For the knowledge of that would put an end to the Diſputes which have been ſo long kept on foot between *Colophon*, *Lumæ*, the *Egyptian Thebes*, [b] *Smyrna*, and innumerable other Cities, which all make the ſame Pretenſions to his Birth. Some make *Mæon* a *Lydian*, to be his Father, or a *River* of the ſame Name, and his Mother to be *Menalope*, or a Nymph of the *Dryades*; and thus, for want of a human Deſcent, are forced to conſecrate his Original. Nor are we agreed in what Age he lived, whether in the *Ionick* or *Heroick*. Nor is it yet ſettled whether he is ancienter than *Heſiod*; for the Name *Meliſigenes* is generally preferred to the other Name which he uſually bears. His Fortune, Blindneſs, and Poverty, being ſo very obſcure, are Topicks not to be inſiſted on. Thus you ſee, Sir, how much I am ſtraitened in my Theme; how I am obliged to take an imperfect

[b] *Σμυρνα*, in the Greek 'tis *συρνία*; but *Grevius* reads *σμύρνα*.

Draught

Draught of his Merit from his Poetry alone. But your Subject affords you a large and open Career; you are to treat of Things known and certain, and only want Words, like Sauce to Meat, to furniſh out the Entertainment. For had not *Demoſthenes* all the Advantages of Fortune? Was he not born in *Athens*, that rich and celebrated City, the great Theatre of all *Greece*, and the Bulwark of the Country? Had I *Athens* for my Theme, by a Poetical Liberty I could introduce the Loves of the Gods, their Judgments, their Abodes, their Gifts, and Eleuſine [b]. On the other hand, their Laws, their Words of Judicature, and Aſſemblies, their Decrees, [c] *Piræus*, their Colonies, and Triumphs by Sea and Land, would be ſo vaſt a Field, that *Demoſthenes* himſelf, with his inimitable Eloquence, would ſcarce be able to write up to the Dignity of the Subject.

Nor would I think all this foreign to the Subject, ſince 'tis an allowed Law of *Panegyrick*, that the Country of a *Heroe* is a common Place from which he may be praiſed.

[b] Sacred Rites in Honour of *Ceres*.
[c] *Piræus*, the Port of *Athens*. *Strabo*, lib. 9.

Thus *Iſocrates*, in his Elogy of *Helen*, has inſerted the Praiſe of *Theſeus*, by way of Appendix. And Poets may have Liberties allowed them beyond the Severity of Proſe. But you have ſuch a large Field, that you have reaſon to fear being reproached with the old Proverb, *That your Epigram is larger than the Desk.* Paſſing from his Country, your next Topick will be his Father, that *Admiral* of the Fleet, a *golden Foundation for Praiſe*, ſays *Pindar.* For the Command of the Fleet, was the higheſt Employment in the State. That he loſt his Father in his tender Age, is ſo far from being a Misfortune, that it ſerved only to heighten his Glory, and gave him an Opportunity of diſplaying and exerting his wonderful Parts. Hiſtorians have not delivered down to us the Education and Studies of *Homer*, which furniſhing us with no Matter, we ſhall be forced to have immediate recourſe to his Poetry, nor take the liberty of flying to the Laurel of *Heſiod*, with inſpired Verſes to the Shepherds themſelves. But you have a long Race of Orators, *Iſæus*, *Calliſtratus*, *Alcidamas*, *Iſocrates*, and *Eubulis*, to ſupply you with Matter; and, above all, the Prudence and

good

good Conduct of *Demoſthenes*, in avoiding all the Debaucheries of Youth. For tho' *Athens* was the Seat of Pleaſure, and abounded in all the Entertainments and Allurements, which are ſo paſſionately courted by all young Men, even thoſe who live under the Check and Reſtraint of a Father, and tho' their Inclinations naturally lead them on to the Purſuit of Pleaſure, tho' the Negligence of his Maſter gave him an Opportunity of running into all the criminal Exceſſes of Youth; yet of his own Accord, he choſe a more generous Career, and the Love of *Civil Virtue* and *Philoſophy* hindered him from engaging himſelf in evil Courſes. 'Twas a manly and rational Love that did not lead him to *Phryne* the Courtiſan, but to the Lectures and Auditories of *Plato*, *Ariſtotle* *Theophraſtres*, and *Xenocrates*. Upon this Subject, Sir, you may exerciſe your Philoſophy, and prove, there are two ſorts of Love, one a brutal, head-ſtrong Paſſion, a wild Fury, that knows no Bounds, no Reſtraint, a tumultuous Frenzy, that rages in young Men; in ſhort, the common ordinary Luſt, that bears the Marks of its firſt Original, and is of a Piece with the Sea that begot

it. [b] The other is a ſacred Love, produced by the gentle Attraction of the divine Chain; 'tis a Flame kindled from Heaven, not an incurable Diſeaſe, made by imaginary Darts and Fires, 'tis a calm governable Fury, which none but Souls, nearly allied to Heaven, as the *Tragedian* ſays, are inſpired with; this carries us on to contemplate and adore the Standard of all Beauty, the *Divine Nature*. This Love made *Demoſthenes* maſter all the Difficulties of his Study, made him patiently ſubmit to have his Head ſhaved, to ſhut himſelf up in a Cave, to correct the Errors of his Motions and Geſtures in his Glaſs, to form his Elocution in his declining Age, exerciſe his Memory, bear unconcernedly the Clamours of the Croud, and ſtudy whole Days and Nights together. From hence 'tis viſible how great a Maſter he muſt needs be in the Art of Speaking, eſpecially if we well conſider the Beauty of his Thoughts and the Style, the Strength and Cogency of his Arguments, with his Addreſs in moving the Paſſions, the Floridneſs and Elevation, the Majeſty and the Vehemence of his Expreſſions, the Variety of

[b] Τὸν ἐρωτικὸν σειρᾶς ἕλξιν.

his

his Figures, and his Judgment in retrenching all the empty Pomp of Words and Sentences; inſomuch that *Levethenes* ſtuck not to ſay, that *Demoſthenes* was the only Orator, whoſe Speeches were not [a] beaten out on the Anvil, but animated with a reaſonable Soul. For *Demoſthenes* did not compoſe his Orations, as *Calliſthenes* ſaid *Æſchylus* did his Tragedies in the Heat of a Debauch, but with all the Coolneſs and Temperance imaginable, and prepared himſelf only by drinking Water: Which gave occaſion to the Jeſt of *Demades*, *That other Orators ſpoke by the* [b] *Water, but he writ by it.* And *Pytheus* uſed to ſay, *That the Applauſe which was given to his Speeches, ſmelt of the Lamp.* This, Sir, is the only common Topick we have for the Praiſe of both our Authors; for I muſt do *Homer*'s Poetry the ſame Juſtice I have done *Demoſthenes*'s Eloquence, nor does it leſs deſerve my Commendation.

[a] *Grævius* reads it, not ὁ σφυρήλατον, but ᾧ; and then it muſt be engliſhed *a ſtrong maſculine Style.*

[b] *Lucian* alludes to the *Clepſydræ*, or Water Hour-glaſſes of the Ancients, which their Orators pleaded by, as appears from this Verſe of *Martial*,

Septem Clepſydras magna viva voce retenti.

But if you paſs from his Eloquence, to his good Nature and Juſtice, to his unwearied Induſtry and Dexterity in the Management of Affairs, to his—— He was going on with his Diſcourſe, when I interrupted him, laughing: What do you mean, Sir, to overwhelm me with a Torrent of Words? When I conſider, replied *Therſagoras*, his publick Entertainments of the People, his voluntary Contributions to the Games, the Ditch and Wall he made, his Government of the Fleet, his Embaſſies, ranſoming the Captives, marrying the poor Maids at his own Charge, his Laws, his Adminiſtration of the State, and his immortal Actions, I am amazed to hear any one ſay, that he wants Matter for a *Panegyrick* on *Demoſthenes*. And why, of all the Orators, replied I, do you think me the only one who is a Stranger to the Merit of *Demoſthenes*? But you muſt own, replied *Therſagoras*, that you have need of great Aſſiſtance and Support, to hinder you from ſinking below the Dignity of ſuch a Subject. *Demoſthenes* ſhould be approached with a religious Awe, as if you are not well prepared; you may be dazled with the Appearance of ſo much

Bright-

Brightneſs, nor be able to gaze ſteadily on it. Which befel me in the firſt Eſſays of my Poem upon *Homer*, and a juſt Senſe of my own Weakneſs had diſcouraged me from ſo bold an Attempt; but I took Courage, by accuſtoming my ſelf to look on the Object; and leſt by turning away my Eyes from ſo glaring a Light, I ſhould forfeit my Pretenſions to my Dalliance with *Homer*, and be thought a degenerate [c] Off-ſpring. But your Task is eaſier than mine; for the Poetry of *Homer* being the only Topick he can be commended from, 'tis abſolutely neceſſary to form an univerſal Idea of it, and thoroughly to comprehend all its Beauties. But 'tis quite otherwiſe with *Demoſthenes*; for were you to give a juſt and full Character of all his Virtues and Excellencies, you would lye under a Difficulty in ſo copious a Subject, with what good Quality you ſhould begin. You would be like an *Epicure* at a great Feaſt, or a *Spectator* that has a thouſand Objects in View, where the Variety of his Proſpect hinders him from ſin-

[c] He alludes to the old Story of the Eagle's trying its young ones, by turning their Eyes to the Sun. *Pliny*, lib. 10.

gling out any one in particular. Thus it would fare with you, and you would be at a loſs, whether you ſhould make choice of the greatneſs of his Mind, the vivacity of his Wit, his Temperance, Eloquence, Courage, Juſtice, Humanity, Integrity, Prudence, generous Contempt of Money, or any of his great Services to the State. On the other hand, his Decrees, Embaſſies, Speeches, Laws, the Fleets he equipped, *Eubœa*, *Megara*, *Bœotia*, *Chios*, *Rhodes*, the *Helleſpont*, and *Byzantium*, would be an inexhauſtible Fund for *Panegyrick*. In ſo wide a Theme, the Plenty would create a Want, and your Imagination would be divided and diſtracted by the Variety of Objects, as befel *Pindar* in one of his Odes:

Shall my Muſe ſing Iſmenus, *noble Stream?*
Or ſhall the lovely Melia *be my Theme?*
Or Cadmus? *Or the Race of Warriors, grown*
Out of the Glebe where Dragons Teeth were ſown?
Shall Thebes *the Subject of my Verſe afford?*
Or the fam'd Conqueſts of Alcides, *Sword?*
Shall the great God of Wine inſpire my Tongue?
Or fair Harmonia's *Nuptials grace my Song?*

Thus like *Pindar*, you would be at a ſtand, whether you ſhould praiſe his Eloquence,

his Speeches, his great Performances, Authority, Philoſophy, or his glorious Death: But this may be eaſily remedied, by ſingling out any particular Excellency; as for Inſtance, his Eloquence, and purſuing it cloſely. And this Part may receive all its due heightning, by being compared with that of *Pericles*. This Eloquence, 'tis ſaid, like a Torrent, bore down all before it, and had ſomething ſo engaging and forcible, as was not to be reſiſted; but this we have only by Hearſay, for his Works we never ſaw. From whence 'tis plain, his Eloquence had but an imaginary Foundation, ſince it could not ſtand the Teſt and Examination of Poſterity; whereas the Writings of *Demoſthenes* are ſtill extant: But the Conſideration of this Subject I leave to you, if you deſign to handle it. If you deſcend to his Manners and Actions, it will be neceſſary to cull out one particular Topick, or two or three, if you would enlarge, and the Greatneſs and Nobleneſs of the Subject will afford Matter enough for all the Colours of *Rhetorick*. And tho' we do not praiſe all the Virtues of *Demoſthenes*, but only part of them, we may juſtifie our Practice by the

Example

Example of *Homer*, who very often contents himſelf with praiſing only the Parts of his *Heroes*, as their Heads, their Feet, their Hair, their Cloaths, or their Shields. Nor do the *Gods* themſelves diſdain the humble Praiſes which Poets give their Diſtaffs and Shields, much leſs thoſe which are drawn from any Part of their Bodies or Souls: *For they are too great Benefactors to Mankind to have all their Favours and Bleſſings extolled at once.* Nor will *Demoſthenes*, I hope, take it ill, if we ſingle out any one of his Virtues for our Theme, when he himſelf, with the whole Force of his Eloquence, was not capable of raiſing all to their juſt Height. He was going on, when replied I, *Therſagoras*, you have praiſed *Demoſthenes*, to let me ſee, that you are not only a very good Poet, but a good Orator too. I did it, ſays *Therſagoras*, only to divert your Thoughts, and put you in a good Humour, that you might patiently hear me repeat my Poem. If that was your Deſign, replied I, you have taken a wrong Courſe. Then it ſeems, anſwered he, I have made uſe of an excellent Medicine. Sir, ſaid I, you do not know what ails me, and like an ignorant

rant Phyſician, miſtake the Patient's Diſeaſe, and preſcribe a Courſe of Phyſick proper for another Diſtemper: You have given Rules for a Novice, not for a Man who has been trained up for many Years in the Art of Speaking, and for that Reaſon your Remedies are uſeleſs. I thought, ſaid *Therſagoras*, that Remedies had been like Roads, the more common, the more ſafe. You miſtake my Humour, replied I: For my part, I would not imitate *Anniceris* the Cyrenean, the Rival of the Glory of *Plato* and his Scholars; who, to ſhew his Addreſs in driving a Chariot, drove ſeveral Courſes round the *Academy*, all in the very ſame Track. I am for ſteering another Courſe. But, ſays *Therſagoras*, 'tis no eaſy Matter to find out a new Way, unleſs you are pleaſed with the Conduct of *Pauſon* the Painter. Pray what was that, ſaid I, for I never heard the Story? When he was ordered to draw a Horſe, rolling himſelf in the Duſt, he painted him running full ſpeed, covered all over with Duſt; and, before the Piece was finiſhed, the Gentleman, who beſpoke it, coming to ſee it, was very angry with him for not drawing it in the Poſture

he deſigned; then *Pauſon* bid his Boy turn the Piece upſide down, and a Horſe was ſeen tumbling in the Duſt. You are pleaſant, replied I, to imagine, that I have been ſo many Years contriving this one Turn, when you ought rather to believe, that when I had tried all the Changes imaginable, it fared with me as with *Proteus*, who, when he had turned himſelf into a thouſand Shapes, into all Beaſts, Plants and Elements, to avoid the Sight of Man, for want of a foreign Shape, was at laſt conſtrained to re-aſſume his own. But you, anſwered he, have made more Turns than ever he did, and all to avoid the Trouble of a repeating Poet. No, ſays I, for laying aſide all Thoughts of my *Panegyrick*, I'll give you Audience, and perhaps, when you are no longer in Pain for your own Birth, you will take Care of mine. Then we ſate down on the next Bank, where he read me his admirable Poem upon *Homer*; in the middle he broke off, and, like a Man inſpired, ſhutting his Book, ſays he, I'll pay you the Tribute of your Attention, as the People at *Athens* have Money for their Attendance at their Aſſemblies, and the ſolemn Days of Judicature. But you

muſt

muſt firſt take care to thank me. I muſt, replied I, know the Favour, before I pay the Thanks. You muſt underſtand, ſaid *Theraſagoras*, that I accidentally met with ſome Memoirs of the Royal Houſe of *Macedon*, which I read over with great Pleaſure, and with much ado got the Book, and have it now in my Hands: 'Tis an Account of ſome Domeſtick Affairs of *Antipater*; and, among other things, ſome Account of *Demoſthenes*, which you will be glad to learn. I thank you, ſaid I, for your good News, and will hear the reſt of your Verſes. Nor will I leave you, till you make good your Promiſe: You have entertained me very well with your Encomium on *Homer*'s Birth-day, and I hope you'll do the ſame on that of *Demoſthenes*. Then he finiſhed his Poem, and I ſtaid to praiſe it, and went to his Lodgings with him; where, after a great Search, he found the Book, and gave it me to carry home; I peruſed it carefully, and, without making any Alterations, I reſolved to read it over to you *verbatim*: For, believe me, *Æſculapius* is not leſs honoured by a Poem of *Aliſodemus* the *Trezenian*, or *Sophocles*'s ſong on his Feſtivals, than if a new

one

one were made by thoſe who ſacrifice to him. The Cuſtom of making Tragedies and Comedies in Honour of *Bacchus*, is now left off; and other Compoſitions, if ſeaſonably applied, and well repreſented, have as favourable an Acceptance as thoſe. That Part of the Memoirs which relates to *Demoſthenes*, is written by Way of Dialogue, betwixt *Antipater* and *Archias*, and begins with the Advice *Antipater* received of *Archias*'s Arrival. This *Archias*, if any young Man is unacquainted with the Story, was he whom the King had commanded to apprehend the baniſhed Men of *Athens*, and had received Orders by Letters from *Antipater* to uſe no Violence to *Demoſthenes*, but to perſuade him to come from [a] *Calauria* into *Macedon* to him. *Antipater*, who had entertained great Hopes of the taking of *Demoſthenes*, waited with Pain for his Arrival. And when the News was brought him, that *Archias* was coming from *Calauria*, he ordered him to be introduced to him; what paſſed afterwards, I'll repeat to you in the Words of the Book. God ſave you, *Anti-*

[a] *Calauria*, a little Iſland in the *Ægæan* Sea, over-againſt *Troezen* in *Peloponneſus*.

pater,

pater, ſays *Archias*. I muſt be ſafe, ſaid *Antipater*, if you have brought me *Demoſthenes*. I have brought you, ſays *Archias*, what I could of him; for here is his Urn, in which are his Aſhes. You have ſtrangely diſappointed me, replied *Antipater*; for what ſhall I do with his Aſhes and Bones? Sir, replied *Archias*, in ſpite of all the Arguments I could uſe with him, I found him obſtinately reſolved not to ſurrender himſelf alive. Says *Antipater*, Could you not corrupt him with Money, which you might have had from *Bœotia*, or my Treaſury here? But, as I remember, King *Philip* uſed to ſay, That the Virtue of *Demoſthenes* was Proof againſt all Bribery, and that it was eaſier to take *Byzantium* by Storm, than corrupt *Demoſthenes* with Money. If there was any Miniſter at *Athens*, continued King *Philip*, who would betray the Liberty of his Country, and ſacrifice the Publick to his own private Intereſts, I would ſpare no Money to gain him over to my Party; but, at the ſame time, I ſhould never conſider him as my Friend; but if any one generouſly eſpouſed the Quarrel of his Country, and was my Enemy on the Publick Score, I would make

an open War upon him, as I would force a Caſtle or a Rampart; but in ſpite of his Enmity, I ſhould adore his Virtue, and envy the Happineſs of a City, that had produced ſuch a Man. *But I would ruin a Traytor, when I had no farther occaſion for his Service.* I would willingly exchange all my Illyrian and Triballian Horſe, and all my Mercenary Troops, for a Man of ſuch Honour and Integrity as *Demoſthenes*. *A Man of Senſe and Judgment, and a Maſter in the Art of Speaking, is as good as a numerous Army.* This King *Philip* ſpoke to *Parmenio*. Another time, when I was apprehenſive of the Army the *Athenians* had ſent out under the Command of *Diopithes*, he burſt out into a Fit of Laughter, and ſaid, What, *Antipater*, are you afraid of an *Athenian* Army and General? I never dreaded their Fleets, nor Ports, nor Citadels: For what mighty Performances can you expect from an Army never inured to War, who have been trained up by the Arts of Peace and Luxury, and ſoftened by a long Courſe of Pleaſure and Debauchery. Were *Demoſthenes* once removed from *Athens*, I would make my ſelf Maſter of it by open Force

or

or Treachery, with more Eaſe than I did of *Thebes* and *Theſſaly*. *Demoſthenes* is ſtill upon his Guard, and has an Eye upon all my Motions; he defeats all my Deſigns, breaks all my Meaſures, and diſappoints all my Enterprizes. He is acquainted with all my Counſels, all my Artifices, and all my Stratagems: He out-wits me in Contrivance, over-reaches me in Management, and over-matches me in plain Force. In a word, he is the only Rub that lies in the Way of all my Victories, and hinders me from over-running all *Greece*. What Man could do, he did, to oppoſe my taking of *Amphipolis*, *Olynthus*, *Phocæa*, *Pylæ*, *Cherſoneſus*, and the Coaſts of the *Helleſpont*. He revived the drooping Spirits of the *Athenians*; he animated them with freſh Vigour, and awakened them from their [a] Lethargy. He retrenched all the uſeleſs Expences they were at in their Theatres and Sports; he ſeverely reprimanded their Baſeneſs and Effeminacy; he repaired their Naval Forces, which were almoſt ruined by the Neglect of the Marine Laws; he raiſed the Reputation of the City, which was declined from its former Gran-

[a] In the *Greek* it is ἐκ μανδραγόρα κατεύδοντες, for *Mandrakes*, as *lib.* 25. aſſures us.

deur; he rouzed the *Athenians* to a noble Emulation of the ancient Battles of *Marathon* and *Salamine*; he ſpurred them on to outvie the Glory of their Anceſtors; he united all *Greece* into a common Confederacy againſt me. *Demoſthenes* is not to be deceived nor impoſed on, nor to be wrought on by Money, and is as firm againſt Corruption, as ever *Ariſtides* was againſt the *Perſians*; and holds the ſame Rank among the modern *Athenians*, as *Pericles* and *Themiſtocles* did among the Ancients, and has added all the Greatneſs of Mind of the firſt to the Prudence of the latter: To his good Conduct the *Athenians* owe the Reduction of *Eubœa*, *Megara*, *Bœotia*, and the Coaſt of *Helleſpont*. I am pleaſed with their Wiſdom, in making *Phares*, *Diopithes*, and *Proxenus*, and ſuch as theſe Generals, and in keeping *Demoſthenes* at home to harangue the People. Were he once but wholly entruſted with the Management of their Affairs, and the Diſpoſal of the Revenue, their Fleet and their Army, I ſhould be in Pain for *Macedonia* it ſelf. For now, tho' at a diſtance, he makes a vigorous War upon me with his Decrees, raiſes Troops and Money,

Money, and attacks us on every ſide. This King *Philip* often ſaid. But why, *Archias*, did not you take him alive? I did, Sir, ſays *Archias*. Did he dye by the way? ſays *Antipater*. No, replied *Archias*; but in *Calauria*. Perhaps it was occaſioned by their Negligence, in not taking Care of him, ſaid *Antipater*. No, replied *Archias*, he was never in our Power: You ſpeak in Riddles, ſays *Antipater*; What! did you take him, and not have him in your Power? Did not you give me your Order, replied *Archias*, to uſe no Violence with him? tho' that would have been ineffectual. Perhaps you killed him your ſelves, ſaid *Antipater*. No, anſwered *Archias*, tho' indeed when all other Methods failed, we were obliged to have recourſe to Force. But, pray Sir, what would you have done with *Demoſthenes*? I preſume that you would have put him to death. God forbid, replied *Antipater*; you ſeem unacquainted with his Deſerts, and the Value I had for his Merit, and make no diſtinction between the taking of *Demoſthenes*, and the taking of ſuch infamous Wretches, as *Phalereus* the *Hiperian*, *Ariſtonicus* the *Marathonian*, and *Eucrates*: Theſe Men had no true Merit, but

owed their ſhort-lived Greatneſs to a popular Faction; like Rivers ſwoln with Rain, they bore all before them for a ſmall time; grew bold and daring, under the Favour of a Tumult and Sedition; but trembled, like an Evening-Blaſt of Wind, at the leaſt Appearance of Danger. *Hyperides* is another of the ſame Stamp, who, in ſpite of all the Reſtraints of Honour, Shame and Friendſhip, ſtuck not to draw up a falſe Accuſation againſt *Demoſthenes*, the better to inſinuate himſelf into the Favour of the People, and acted a Crime which thoſe very Men, whoſe Pandar he was, immediately repented of, as appears from their recalling *Demoſthenes*, and granting him a more glorious Return from his Baniſhment, than ever *Alcibiades* had. But this Villain, who charged *Demoſthenes* with ſuch an imaginary Crime, ought to have his Tongue cut out, for being proſtituted in ſuch an infamous Cauſe. But was not *Demoſthenes*, ſays *Archias*, the Man, of all your Enemies, to whom you bore the greateſt Averſion? *No*, anſwered *Antipater, for I value Integrity, Honour, and Courage, whereſoever I find it, and adore a gallant Enemy.* Nor am I leſs generous

generous than *Xerxes*, who releaſed the brave *Spartans*, *Bulis* and *Sperchies*[a], in Admiration of their Virtue. But of all Men in the World, I would have pardoned *Demoſthenes*, upon the account of the little Acquaintance I had with him at *Athens*, where I ſaw him twice, and for what I have heard others relate of him. I admire him not ſo much for his Eloquence, as his inimitable Conduct in the Government of the State, tho' his Eloquence is matchleſs; and *Python*, and the reſt of the *Athenian* Orators, cannot pretend to vie with the maſculine Vigour of his Speeches, the beautiful Turn of his Periods, his Action and Pronunciation, the Force of his Arguments, and his happy Talent in moving an Audience, and drawing them over to what Party he pleaſed. And for that reaſon, when *Python*'s great Promiſe had prevailed upon me to appoint a general Meeting of the *Greeks* at *Athens*, to accuſe the *Athenians*, I repented of it, after I heard the Arguments of *Demoſthenes*, whoſe Eloquence is irreſiſtibly prevalent; which I place in the ſecond Rank

[a] *Bulis* and *Sperchies*. This Story is at large in the 7th Book of *Herodotus*, and is too large to inſert here.

of his good Qualities, as being an excellent Inſtrument to bring about the greateſt Deſigns. But I was infinitely more charmed with his Conduct and Prudence, and that particular Steadineſs of Mind, which ſupported him under all Turns and Revolutions, and never ſuffered him to be ſhocked with the leaſt Apprehenſion of Danger. King *Philip* entertained the ſame favourable Opinion of him; and I remember, that when he had received one of *Demoſthenes*'s invective Orations againſt him, and *Parmenio* ſtormed and railed at him, *Demoſthenes*, ſays King *Philip*, is the only Man who deſerves to ſpeak freely: For all the other Orators of *Greece* are in my Pay, tho' I would rather truſt him, than the Secretaries of my Navy, [b] who are only charged to provide Gold, Wood, my Revenue, my Herds and Corn. But he man's our great Fleets, raiſes Armies, and oppoſes me vigorouſly. Such an advantagious Character have I often heard King *Philip* give of *Demoſthenes*, and he reckoned it the greateſt Happineſs which ever befel him, that *Demoſthenes* was not General of the

[b] This is a very obſcure Place, I therefore leave the Reader to explain it as he pleaſes.

Army,

Army, whoſe very Speeches, like ſo many Engines and Battering-rams, ruined all his Deſigns; and he often repeated the great Danger he had been expoſed to in the Battel of *Cheronæa*, by the admirable Conduct of *Demoſthenes*: For if the Unskilfulneſs of the *Athenian* Generals, and the ill Management of their Army, ſeconded by his good Fortune, which ſo often favoured him, had not all contributed to give him the Victory, he muſt have run the Hazard of loſing his Life and Kingdom, which were both ſtaked upon the Succeſs of that Battle. He had, ſays King *Philip*, joined all the Power of *Greece* into one common Alliance againſt me, and drawn together all the Forces of the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, *Bœotians*, *Eubœans*, and *Mogarians*, to diſpute my Paſſage into *Attica*. Theſe were the Diſcourſes King *Philip* continually had of *Demoſthenes*. And when he was told, That the State of *Athens* was the only Rival of his Greatneſs, he made anſwer, That *Demoſthenes* was his only Rival. For without him the *Athenians* would be no more than the *Theſſalians* and the *Æniañenſes*. Whenever he ſent an Embaſſy to a City, if the *Athe-*

nians ſent any other, but *Demoſthenes*, he uſually prevailed; but if *Demoſthenes* was preſent, he gave his Cauſe over, and all hopes of Succeſs: For, ſays he, the Eloquence of *Demoſthenes* is invincible, and can never be withſtood. And, after all this, *Archias*, do you imagine, that I, who am ſo infinitely inferior to *Philip* in all reſpects, if I had ſo gallant a Man in my Power, would lead him like an Ox to the Slaughter? No, *Archias*, I would make him my Miniſter of State and truſt him with the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of *Greece*. I had always a perſonal Kindneſs for *Demoſthenes*, in regard of his great Actions, and was confirmed in my good Opinion of him by the honourable Character *Ariſtotle* gave of his Merit, who often brought him to viſit *Alexander* and me; and has aſſured us, that among all thoſe great Men, who made their Court to him, he admired none ſo much as *Demoſthenes*, for his wonderful Capacity, Readineſs of Wit, Temperance, Freedom and Firmneſs. You, ſaid *Ariſtotle*, entertain the ſame Opinion of him as you do of *Eubolus*, *Phrynon*, and *Philocrates*, and go about to corrupt a Man that is ſo obſtinately virtuous, one that has ſpent all his Eſtate upon

upon the Publick, and in relieving his private Friends: And when that Method fails, you think to awe him into a Compliance, not conſidering, that he is reſolved not to outlive his Country, but be buried in its Ruins. You reſent every little Reflection of *Demoſthenes* upon you, as the utmoſt Indignity, without obſerving, that he uſes his own Countrymen no better, and is not apprehenſive of their Anger. You are ignorant, that a Senſe of Honour, and a true Love of his Country, has engaged him in the publick Service, and that he conſiders his Miniſtry as a Courſe of Philoſophy. Theſe are the Advantages I propoſed to my ſelf by the Converſation of ſuch a Man, to hear him deliver his Opinion without Reſerve or Diſguiſe, to give me Counſels with Candour and Sincerity, inſtead of the fulſome Flatteries of mercenary Courtiers, *which always attend the Counſels of Princes, and are their Ruine and Deſtruction.* The only Thing to be cenſured in his Conduct, is his ſacrificing his Life for ſuch ungrateful Citizens, when his Virtue might have challenged the Friendſhip and Favour of others, who would have made him more generous Returns for

his Services. In other Matters, replied *Archias*, you might have wrought upon *Demoſthenes*; but he was too paſſionate a Lover of his Country, to quit its Intereſts upon any Terms. 'Tis true, replied *Antipater*: But pray let me hear the Particulars of his Death. That, anſwered *Archias*, will ſurprize you more than all the reſt: For we, who were preſent, were as much amazed at ſo incredible an Action as thoſe who were not Eye-witneſſes of it. For it was evident, from the Preparation he had made, that it was a Deſign which he had formed long ago. He ſate in the inner-part of the Temple, and I talked with him to no purpoſe for ſeveral Days together. What was the Subject, ſaid *Antipater*, of your Diſcourſe? I made him very fair Offers, gave him an Aſſurance of your Pardon, not that I imagined you would make my Promiſe good, for I did not at that time know your Reſolution: On the contrary, I thought you extreamly incenſed againſt him, but I believed that would be the moſt effectual Way to prevail upon him. How did he receive your Diſcourſe, ſays *Antipater*? Give me a full Account of your Conference with him.

him. Would to God I had been preſent. For the laſt Behaviour and dying Speeches of ſuch a great Man, are of vaſt Concern. Did he betray any Marks of Fear? Did he retain his uſual Courage and Firmneſs? Yes, he did, replied *Archias*. He laughed at me very pleaſantly, and told me I was an ill Actor of your Lies. Then, it ſeems, he did not believe your Promiſes; and that was the reaſon of his Death. Sir, replied *Archias*, if you will hear me out, you will find, that he had other Thoughts. He anſwered me, that the Proceedings of the *Macedonians* were not new and ſurprizing to him; and that it was no Wonder they had taken him as they had taken *Amphipolis*, *Olynthus* and *Oropus*. This and much more he ſaid: For we had Writers by to take all his Diſcourſe, that you might know all the Particulars. The Fear of Death and Tortures, ſaid *Demoſthenes*, was the reaſon why I would not ſurrender my ſelf to *Antipater*; but, if you ſpeak truth, I have more reaſon than ever to be extreamly cautious of it, for fear of having my Integrity corrupted, and being wrought upon to betray the *Grecian* Cauſe and Intereſt of my Country, by joining with

the *Macedonians*. *Shall I, who have ſo long ſtill pleaded the Cauſe of* Greece, *ſubmit to ſuch infamous Terms, and pay down my Liberty for a Ranſom of my Life? It is better to dye glorioufly, than live ſcandalouſly.* I cannot do it without a Reflection upon my Fame. *Pyræus*, and the Galley I built, and the Ditch and Walls I erected at my own Charge, and the Tribe *Pandionis*, which I relieved by my voluntary Expence: And *Solon* and *Draco*, the Freedom of the People, and the *Roſtrum*, which they owe to me, the naval and military Wreaths I obtained, with the glorious Actions of my Anceſtors, and their Trophies, and the univerſal Love of my Fellow-citizens, who have ſo often crowned me, and the Power of *Greece*, which hitherto I have preſerved. Were I reduced to the Neceſſity of owing my Life to the Mercy of others, tho' it would be a criminal Meanneſs in me to accept it, but at leaſt it would be fitter for me to receive it from the Hands of my Fellow-citizens, whoſe Priſoners I redeemed, whoſe Daughters I have married at my own Expence, and whoſe Wants I ſupplied. But if neither the Sea, nor the Command of the

Iſlands

Iſlands which I have borne can ſecure me, in my laſt Extremity, I appeal to *Neptune*, and beg the Aſſiſtance of theſe Altars, and the Protection of this awful Sanctuary. But if *Neptune* cannot defend the Privileges of his Temple, and is not aſhamed to betray his Votary to *Archias*, I will dye, rather than ever be guilty of any unmanly Compliance with *Antipater*. It is in my Power to make my Peace with the *Macedonians*, and be as happy as you are, if I would follow the Example of *Cathemedon*, *Pytheas*, and *Demades*. But I have too much Reverence for the Memory of *Codrus*, and the Daughters of * *Erectheus*, to buy my Life at the Expence of my Freedom. *I will continue firm to my Duty, nor deſert my Country, becauſe Fortune has. An honourable Death is the beſt Refuge of the Unfortunate. I would not willingly diſhonour my Country by any Baſeneſs, nor ſubmit to a voluntary Slavery; I am reſolved not to out-live my Liberty, but periſh in the Defence of ſo valuable a Prize, which is the beſt worth living for, and the beſt worth dying for.* I preſume you, who

* The Daughters of *Erectheus*, who died willingly for their Country. *Tully, de Natura* lib. 3.

have

have been an Actor, have not forgot that memorable Place of the Tragedian:

The Royal Maid *, *when ſhe was led to dye,*
Utter'd no Groan, *nor an unmanly Sigh,*
And with a dauntleſs *Courage met the Blow*
[*half-way.*
——— *But* decently *took Care,*
That no unhallow'd *ſacrilegious Eye*
Her dead unguarded *Beauties ſhould deſcry,*
Then unconcernedly *fell,* &c.
Euripides *in* Hecuba.

After ſo brave an Action of a Woman, how infamous would it be for *Demoſthenes*, to forget the Diſcourſes of *Xenocrates* and *Plato*, on the *Immortality* of the *Soul*, and prefer an inglorious Life to an honourable Death? After this, he broke out into a Paſſion, and ſaid ſomething very ſevere upon thoſe who inſult over the Miſerable, which it is needleſs to report. At laſt, after I had uſed fair Means and foul, and added Threats to my Prayers, he made no other Anſwer, but that if he was *Archias*, he might probably be perſuaded, but ſince he was *Demoſthenes*, he told me I muſt pardon him, if he had too much

* Polyxena.

Honour

Honour to comply with me. Then I reſolved to force him out of the Temple; which, as ſoon as he perceived, he laughed at me; and looking upon the *God*, You imagine, *Archias*, ſays he, that Armies and Caſtles are the only ſecure Retreats of Life, and deſpiſing ſmall Preparations, which the *Illyrians*, *Triballians*, and *Macedonians*, with all their Forces, ſhall never be able to conquer, 'Tis a ſafer Refuge than our [a] wooden Wall, which *Apollo* himſelf aſſured us was impregnable. The ſame Courage and Prudence that ſecured me in the Government of the State, ſhall protect me againſt the *Macedonians*. I never feared *Euctemon*, *Ariſtogiton*, *Pytheas*, or *Caſtimedan*, nor *Philip* himſelf; nor do I now fear you. Pray, Sir, uſe no Violence with me; I would not have the Temple profaned; I will make my Prayers to the *God*, and follow you immediately. I believed him. Then he laid his Hand on his Mouth, and I imagined he was ſilently adoring the *God*: But, as I was afterwards informed, by a Maid, whom he put upon the Rack, he had kept Poiſon by him for a long time, in caſe of any Extremity, and

[a] The wooden Walls. *Herodotus*, lib. 7.

ſwallowe

ſwallowed it, when we thought him employed in his Devotions. He was not quite out of the Temple, when, looking upon me, he ſaid, *Archias*, you may carry this mouldring Carcaſs to *Antipater*; but you ſhall never carry *Demoſthenes*; No, by all thoſe — I believe he was about to add, by all thoſe Men who died in the Battle of *Marathon*. He had juſt time to bid me Farewel, and then expired.

This, Sir, is the Iſſue of my Conference with *Demoſthenes*. Is this the End of *Demoſthenes?* replied *Antipater*. How I admire his invincible Courage; How glorious, how god-like an Action was it! How providently he took Care to keep in his Power the [b] Pledge and Guardian of Liberty! But if there is a Reward for Virtue, we cannot, without arraigning the Divine Juſtice, doubt, but that he is gone to the happy Iſlands, or to the Eternal Abodes of the Bleſſed, to be there made a *God*, and live for ever with *Jupiter* [c] the Deliverer. As for his Body, I will ſend it to *Athens*, where it will be a nobler Ornament to his Country, than the Monuments of all thoſe Heroes that died in the Battle of *Marathon*.

[b] *The Poyſon.*

[c] Ἐλευθερίου Διός, *Jupiter* the Deliverer.

THE END.

AN

ARGUMENT

SHEWING

That a *Standing Army* is inconſiſtent with *a Free Government*, and abſolutely deſtructive to the CONSTITUTION of the *Engliſh* MONARCHY.

Printed in the Year 1697.

DEDICATION,

To all thoſe * whom it may concern.

Qui capit, ille facit.

WHen I conſider your great Zeal for your Country, how much you have expoſed your ſelves for its Service, and how little you have improved your own Fortunes, I think it is but Juſtice to your Merits to make your Encomiums the Preface to the following Diſcourſe. It is you that have abated the Pride, and reduced the Luxury of the Kingdom: You have been the Phyſicians and Divines of the Commonwealth, by purging it of that Droſs

* i. e. *Courtiers.*

and Dung, which corrupt the Minds, and deſtroy the Souls of Men. You have convinced us, that there is no Safety in Counſellors, nor Truſt to be put in Ships under your Conduct.

You have cleared the Seas, not of *Pyrates*, but of our own *Merchants*, and by that means have made our Priſons as ſo many Store-houſes to repleniſh your Troops. In fine, to uſe the Expreſſion of the Pſalmiſt, Your Hearts are unſearchable for *Wiſdom*, and there is no finding out your *Underſtanding*. When I conſider all this, and compare your Merits with your Preferments, how you came by them, and your Behaviour in them, I cannot but think a Standing Army a collateral Security of your Title to them, and therefore muſt commend your Policy in promoting it. For by theſe *Kings* reign, and *Princes* decree

decree Juſtice. Theſe will be our Magiſtrates, who will not bear the Sword in vain. Theſe like the Sons of *Aaron*, will wear their *Urim* and *Thummim* on their Backs and Breaſts, and will be our Prieſts, who will hew the Sinners to pieces, as *Samuel* did *Agag* before the Lord in *Gilgal*. By theſe you will be able to teach us Paſſive Obedience, as Men having Authority, and not as the Scribes. You will have your Reaſons in your Hands againſt reſiſting the higher Powers, and will prove your *Jus Divinum* by the Sword of the Lord and of *Gideon*.

Your Honours moſt

obedient Slave and Vaſſal,

A. B. C. D. E. F. G.

AN

ARRGUMENT

AGAINST

A Standing Army, &c.

WHEN I conſider what a diſmal Scene of Blood and Deſolation hath appeared upon the Theatre of *Europe* during the Growth and Progreſs of the *French* Power, I cannot ſufficiently applaud and admire our thrice happy Situation, by which we have long enjoyed an uninterrupted Courſe of Peace and Proſperity, whilſt our neighbouring Nations have been miſerably haraſſed by perpetual War: For lying open to continual Invaſion, they can never enjoy Quiet and Security, nor take a ſound ſleep, but *Hercules* like with Clubs in their hands. So that theſe *Halcyon*

cyon Days which we enjoy amidſt ſuch a univerſal Hurricane, muſt be ſolely attributed to our Tutelar God *Neptune*, who with a Guard of winged Courſers ſo ſtrongly intrenches us, that we may be ſaid to be *mediâ inſuperabiles undâ*, and not unfitly compared to the Earth, which ſtands fixed and immovable, and never to be ſhaken but by an internal Convulſion. And as Nature has been thus liberal to us in our Situation, ſo the Luxuriancy of our Soil makes it productive of numerous Commodities for Trade and Commerce: And as this Trade renders us Maſters of the Silver and Gold of the Eaſt and Weſt without our toiling in the Mine, ſo it breeds us multitudes of able-bodied and skilful Seamen to defend the Treaſures they bring home; that even Luxury itſelf, which has been the Bane and Deſtruction of moſt Countries where it has been predominant, may in ſome meaſure be eſteemed our Preſervation, by breeding up a Race of Men amongſt us, whoſe manner of Life will never ſuffer them to be debauched or enervated with Eaſe or Idleneſs. But we have one thing more to boaſt of beſides all theſe Felicities, and that is, of being

being Freemen, and not Slaves in this unhappy Age, when a univerſal Deluge of Tyranny has overſpread the Face of the whole Earth; ſo that this is the *Ark* out of which if the *Dove* be ſent forth, ſhe will find no reſting-place till her Return.

Our Conſtitution is a limited mixed Monarchy, where the King enjoys all the Prerogatives neceſſary to the Support of his Dignity and Protection of his People, and is only abridged from the Power of injuring his own Subjects: In ſhort, the Man is looſe, and the Beaſt only bound; and our Government may be truly called an Empire of Laws, and not of Men; for every Man has the ſame Right to what he can acquire by his Labour and Induſtry, as the King hath to his Crown, and the meaneſt Subject hath his Remedy againſt him in his Courts at *Weſtminſter*: No man can be impriſoned, unleſs he has tranſgreſſed a Law of his own making, nor be tried but by his own Neighbours. So that we enjoy a Liberty ſcarce known to the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*.

And leſt the extraordinary Power intruſted in the Crown ſhould lean towards Arbitrary

bitrary Government, or the tumultuary Licentiouſneſs of the People ſhould incline towards a Democracy, the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors hath inſtituted a middle State, *viz.* of Nobility, whoſe Intereſt it is to trim this Boat of our Commonwealth, and to skreen the People againſt the Inſults of the Prince, and the Prince againſt the Popularity of the Commons; ſince if either Extreme prevail ſo far as to oppreſs the other, they are ſure to be overwhelmed in their Ruin. And the meeting of theſe Three States in Parliament is what we call our Government: for without all their Conſents no Law can be made, nor a penny of Money levied upon the Subject; ſo that the King's Neceſſities do often oblige him to ſummon this Court, which is the Grand Inqueſt of the Kingdom, where the People ſpeak boldly their Grievances, and call to account overgrown Criminals, who are above the reach of ordinary Juſtice: ſo that the Excellence of this Government conſiſts in the due Balance of the ſeveral conſtituent Parts of it; for if any *one* of them ſhould be too hard for the other *two*, there is an actual Diſſolution of the Conſtitution; but

whilſt we continue in our preſent Condition, we may without Vanity reckon our ſelves the happieſt People in the World.

But as there is no degree of human Happineſs that is not accompanied with ſome Defects, and the ſtrongeſt Conſtitutions are moſt liable to certain Diſeaſes; ſo the very Excellence of our Government betrays it to ſome Inconveniencies, the Wheels and Motions of it being ſo curious and delicate that it is often out of order, and therefore we ought to apply our utmoſt Endeavours to rectify and preſerve it: and I am afraid it is more owing to the accident of our Situation, than to our own Wiſdom, Integrity or Courage, that it has yet a Being, when we ſee moſt Nations in *Europe* over-run with Oppreſſion and Slavery; where the Lives, Eſtates and Liberties of the People are ſubject to the lawleſs Fancy and Ambition of the Prince, and the Rapine and Inſolence of his Officers; where the Nobility, that were formerly the bold Aſſertors of their Country's Liberty, are now only the Enſigns and Ornaments of Tyranny, and the People Beaſts of Burden, and barely kept alive to ſup-

port the Luxury and Prodigality of their Maſters.

And if we enquire how theſe unhappy Nations have loſt that precious Jewel *Liberty*, and we as yet preſerv'd it, we ſhall find their Miſeries and our Happineſs proceed from this, That their Neceſſities or Indiſcretion have permitted a Standing Army to be kept amongſt them, and our Situation rather than our Prudence hath as yet defended us from it, otherwiſe we had long ſince loſt what is the moſt valuable thing under Heaven: For, as I ſaid before, our Conſtitution depending upon a due Balance between King, Lords and Commons, and that Balance depending upon the mutual Occaſions and Neceſſities they have of one another; if this Cement be once broke, there is an actual Diſſolution of the Government. Now this Balance can never be preſerved but by a Union of the natural and artificial Strength of the Kingdom, that is, by making the Militia to conſiſt of the ſame Perſons as have the Property; or otherwiſe the Government is violent and againſt Nature, and cannot poſſibly continue, but the Conſtitution muſt either break the

the Army, or the Army will deſtroy the Conſtitution: for it is univerſally true, that wherever the Militia is, there is or will be the Government in a ſhort time; and therefore the Inſtitutors of this *Gothick* Balance (which was eſtabliſhed in all Parts of *Europe*) made the Militia to conſiſt of the ſame Parts as the Government, where the King was General, the Lords, by virtue of their Caſtles and Honours, the great Commanders, and the Freeholders by their Tenures the Body of the Army; ſo that it was next to impoſſible for an Army thus conſtituted to act to the Diſadvantage of the Conſtitution, unleſs we could ſuppoſe them to be *Felo's de ſe*. And here I will venture to aſſert, that upon no other Foundation than this can any Nation long preſerve its Freedom, unleſs ſome very particular Accidents contribute to it: and I hope I ſhall make it appear, that no Nation ever preſerved its Liberty, which maintained an Army otherwiſe conſtituted within the Seat of their Government: and let us flatter our ſelves as much as we pleaſe, what happened Yeſterday will come to paſs again, and the ſame Cauſes will produce like Effects in all Ages.

And

And here I cannot avoid taking notice of ſome Gentlemen, who a few Years ſince were the pretended Patriots of their Country, who had nothing in their Mouths but the ſacred name of *Liberty*, who in the late Reigns could hardly afford the King the Prerogative that was due to him, and which was abſolutely neceſſary to put in motion this Machine of our Government, and to make the Springs and Wheels of it act naturally, and perform their Function: I ſay, theſe Gentlemen, that could not with Patience hear of the King's ordinary Guards, can now diſcourſe familiarly of twenty thouſand Men to be maintained in times of Peace; and the odious Excuſe they give for this infamous Apoſtacy is, That if they ſhould not gratify the Court in this modeſt Requeſt, another Party would be careſſed, who will grant this, or any thing elſe which is asked, and then they ſay Matters will be much worſe: as if Arbitrary Government was a different thing in their Hands from what it is in others, or that the Lineaments and Features of Tyranny would become graceful and lovely when they are its *Valets de Chambre*. But let them not deceive themſelves,

themſelves, for if they think to make their Court this way, they will quickly find themſelves outflattered by the Party they fear, who have been long the Darlings of Arbitrary Power, and whoſe Principles as well as Practices teach them to be Enemies to all the legal Rights and juſt Liberties of their native Country; and ſo theſe wretched Bunglers will be made uſe of only to bring together the Materials of Tyranny, and then muſt give place to more expert Architects to finiſh the Building.

And tho' we are ſecure from any Attempts of this kind during the Reign of a Prince, who hath reſcued us from a Captivity, equal to what *Moſes* redeemed the People of *Iſrael* from; A Prince whoſe Life is ſo neceſſary to the Preſervation of *Europe*, that both Proteſtant and Popiſh Princes have forgot their antient Maxims, and laid aſide their innate Animoſities, and made it their common Intereſt to chuſe him their Patron and Protector; A Prince in whom we know no Vices, but what have been eſteemed Virtues in others, *viz.* his undeſerved Clemency to his Enemies, and his expoſing too much that Life upon which

which depends not only our Safety, but the Liberties of all *Europe*, and the Proteſtant Religion through the World: I ſay, was this moſt excellent Prince to be immortal (as his Great and Glorious Actions) we ought in common Prudence to abandon all thoughts of Self-preſervation, and wholly to rely on his Care and Conduct. But ſince no Virtue nor pitch of Glory will exempt him from paying the common Debt to Nature; and Death hath a Sythe which cuts off the moſt noble Lives; we ought not to intruſt any Power with him, which we do not think proper to be continued to his Succeſſors. And doubtleſs our great Benefactor will not regret this, or any thing elſe that can reaſonably be demanded in order to compleat that Deliverance ſo far advanced by his invincible Courage and Conduct. For to ſet us, like *Moſes*, within view of the promiſed Land, with a *ne plus ultra*, is the greateſt of all human Infelicities; and ſuch I ſhall always take our Caſe to be, whilſt a Standing Army muſt be kept up to prey upon our Entrails, and which muſt in the hands of an ill Prince (which we have the Misfortune frequently

to

to meet with) infallibly deſtroy our Conſtitution. And this is ſo evident and important a Truth, that no Legiſlator ever founded a free Government, but avoided this *Charybdis*, as a Rock againſt which his Commonwealth muſt certainly be ſhipwracked, as the *Iſraelites*, *Athenians*, *Corinthians*, *Achaians*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Thebans*, *Samnites* and *Romans*; none of which Nations, whilſt they kept their Liberty, were ever known to maintain any Soldier in conſtant pay within their Cities, or ever ſuffered any of their Subjects to make War their Profeſſion; well knowing that the Sword and Sovereignty always march hand in hand; and therefore they trained their own Citizens, and the Territories about them, perpetually in Arms, and their whole Commonwealths by this means became ſo many ſeveral formed Militia's: a general Exerciſe of the beſt of their People in the uſe of Arms, was the only Bulwark of their Liberties; this was reckoned the ſureſt way to preſerve them both at home and abroad, the People being ſecured thereby as well againſt the domeſtick Affronts of any of [illegible] own Citizens, as againſt the foreign Invaſions

Invaſions of ambitious and unruly Neighbours. Their Arms were never lodged in the hands of any who had not an Intereſt in preſerving the Publick Peace, who fought *pro aris & focis*, and thought themſelves ſufficiently paid by repelling Invaders, that they might with freedom return to their own Affairs. In thoſe Days there was no difference between the Citizen, the Soldier, and the Husbandman; for all promiſcuouſly took Arms when the Publick Safety required it, and afterwards laid them down with more alacrity than they took them up: So that we find among the *Romans*, the beſt and braveſt of their Generals came from the Plough, contentedly returning when the Work was over, and never demanding their Triumphs till they had laid down their Commands, and reduced themſelves to the ſtate of private Men. Nor do we find that this famous Commonwealth ever permitted a Depoſition of their Arms in any other Hands, till their Empire increaſing, Neceſſity conſtrained them to erect a conſtant ſtipendiary Soldiery abroad in foreign Parts, either for the holding or winning of Provinces. Then Luxury increaſ-

ing with Dominion, the ſtrict Rule and Diſcipline of Freedom ſoon abated, and Forces were kept up at home, which ſoon proved of ſuch dangerous Conſequence, that the People were forced to make a Law to employ them at a convenient diſtance; which was, that if any General marched over the River *Rubicon*, he ſhould be declared a publick Enemy: And in the Paſſage of that River this following Inſcription was erected; *Imperator ſive miles, ſive Tyrannus armatus quiſquis ſiſtito, vexillum armaq; deponito, nec citra hunc amnem trajicito.* And this made *Cæſar*, when he had preſumed to paſs this River, to think of nothing but preſſing on to the total oppreſſion of that glorious Empire.

Nor, as I ſaid before, did any Nation deviate from theſe Rules but they loſt their Liberty; and of this kind there are infinite Examples, out of which I ſhall give a few in ſeveral Ages, which are moſt known, and occur to every one's reading.

The firſt Example I ſhall produce is of *Piſiſtratus*, who artfully prevailing with the *Athenians* to allow him fifty Guards for the defence of his Perſon, he ſo improved

that

that Number, that he ſeized upon the Caſtle and Government, deſtroyed the Commonwealth, and made himſelf Tyrant of *Athens*.

The *Corinthians* being in apprehenſion of their Enemies, made a Decree for four hundred Men to be kept to defend their City, and gave *Tymophanes* the Command over them, who overturned their Government, cut off all the principal Citizens, and proclaimed himſelf King of *Corinth*.

Agathocles being Captain-General of the *Syracuſians*, got ſuch an Intereſt in the Army, that he cut all the Senators to pieces, and the richeſt of the People, and made himſelf their King.

The *Romans* for fear of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, who like vaſt Inundations threatned their Empire, choſe *Marius* their General; and, contrary to the Conſtitution of their Government, continued him five Years in his Command, which gave him ſuch opportunity to inſinuate, and gain an Intereſt in their Army, that he oppreſt their Liberty. And to this were owing all the Miſeries, Maſſacres and Ruins which that City ſuffered under him and *Sylla*, who made the beſt Blood in the World run like Wa-

ter in the Streets of *Rome*, and turned the whole City into a Shambles of the Nobility, Gentry and People.

The ſame thing enabled *Cæſar* totally to overthrow that famous Commonwealth; for the prolongation of his Commiſſion in *Gaul*, gave him an opportunity to debauch his Army, and then upon a pretended diſguſt he marched to *Rome*, drove out the Senators, ſeized the Treaſury, fought their Forces, and made himſelf perpetual Dictator.

Olivarotto di Fermo deſired leave of his fellow Citizens, that he might be admitted into their Town with a hundred Horſe of his Companions; which being granted, he put to the Sword all their principal Citizens, and proclaimed himſelf their Prince.

Francis Sforza being General of the *Milaneſe*, uſurped upon them, and made himſelf Duke of *Milan*.

After *Chriſtiern* the Second King of *Denmark* had conquered *Sweden*, he invited all the Senators and Nobility to a magnificent Entertainment, where after he had treated them highly for two Days, he moſt barbarouſly butchered them. None eſcaped this Maſſacre but the brave *Guſtavus Ericſon*, who

who was then a Priſoner; but he afterwards eſcaping through a thouſand Difficulties, by his good Fortune, Courage and Conduct, drove the *Danes* out of *Sweden*, and reſtored the *Swedes* to their ancient Kingdom. Nothing then was thought too great for their generous Deliverer, every Mouth was full of his Praiſes, and by the univerſal Voice of the People he was choſen their King. And to conſummate the laſt Teſtimony of their Gratitude, they truſted him with an Army; but they ſoon found their Miſtake, for it coſt them their Liberty; and having granted that *unum magnum*, it was too late to diſpute any thing elſe: His Succeſſors having been pleaſed to take all the reſt, and now they remain the miſerable Examples of too credulous Generoſity.

The Story of *Denmark* is ſo generally known, and ſo well related by a late excellent Author, * that it would be Impertinence in me to repeat it; only this I will obſerve, that if the King had not had an Army at his Command, the Nobles had never delivered up their Government.

* The Lord *Moleſworth*.

Our Country-man *Oliver Cromwel* turned out that Parliament under which he ſerved, and who had got immortal Honour through the whole World by their great Actions; and this he effected by the Aſſiſtance of an Army, which muſt be allowed to have had as much Virtue, Sobriety, and publick Spirit, as hath been known in the World ſince, amongſt that ſort of Men.

The laſt Inſtance I ſhall give, is of a *French* Colony, as I remember, in the *Weſt-Indies*, who having War with the neighbouring *Indians*, and being tired in their March with the extremity of Heat, made their Slaves carry their Arms; who taking that opportunity, fell upon them and cut them to pieces, a juſt Puniſhment for their Folly. And this will always be the Fate of thoſe that truſt their Arms out of their Hands; for it is a ridiculous Imagination to conceive Men will be Servants, when they can be Maſters. And as Mr. *Harrington* judiciouſly obſerves, * Whatever Nation ſuffers their Servants to carry their Arms, their Servants will make them hold their Trenchers.

* See, OCEANA.

Some

Some People object, that the Republicks of *Venice* and *Holland* are Inſtances to diſprove my Aſſertion, who both keep great Armies, and yet have not loſt their Liberty.

I anſwer, That neither keep any ſtanding Forces within the Seats of their Government, that is, within the City of *Venice*, or the great Towns of the *United Provinces*; but they defend theſe by their own Burghers, and quarter their Mercenaries in their conquered Countries, *viz.* the *Venetians* in *Greece* and the Continent of *Italy*, and the *Dutch* in *Brabant* and *Flanders*. And the Situation of theſe States makes their Armies, ſo poſted, not dangerous to them; for the *Venetians* cannot be attacked without a Fleet, nor the *Dutch* be ever conquered by their own Forces; their Country being ſo full of ſtrong Towns, fortified both by Art and Nature, and defended by their own Citizens, that it would be a fruitleſs Attempt for their own Armies to invade them; for if they ſhould march againſt any of their Cities, it is but ſhutting up their Gates, and the Deſign is ſpoiled.

But if we admit that any Army might be conſiſtent with Freedom in a Commonwealth, yet it is otherwiſe in a free Monarchy: for in the former it is wholly in the diſpoſal of the People, who nominate, appoint, diſcard, and puniſh the Generals and Officers as they think fit, and it is certain Death to make any attempt upon their Liberties; whereas in the latter, the King is perpetual General, may model the Army as he pleaſes, and it will be called High-Treaſon to oppoſe him.

And tho' ſome Princes, as the Family of the *Medices*, *Lewis* the Eleventh, and others, laid the Foundation of their Tyrannies without the immediate aſſiſtance of an Army, yet they all found an Army neceſſary to eſtabliſh them; or otherwiſe a little experience in the People of the change of their Condition, would have made them diſgorge in a Day that ill-gotten Power they had been acquiring for an Age.

This Subject is ſo ſelf-evident, that I am almoſt aſhamed to prove it: for if we look through the World, we ſhall find in no Country, Liberty and an Army ſtand together; ſo that to know whether a People

are free or Slaves, it is neceſſary only to ask, Whether there is an Army kept amongſt them; and the Solution of that preliminary Queſtion reſolves the Doubt: as we ſee in *China*, *India*, *Tartary*, *Perſia*, *Ethiopia*, *Turkey*, *Morocco*, *Muſcovy*, *Auſtria*, *France*, *Portugal*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Tuſcany*, and all the little Principalities of *Germany* and *Italy*, where the People live in the moſt abandoned Slavery; and in Countries where no Armies are kept within the Seat of their Government, the People are free, as *Poland*, *Biſcay*, *Switzerland*, the *Griſons*, *Venice*, *Holland*, *Genoa*, *Geneva*, *Raguſa*, *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Hamborough*, *Lubeck*; all the free Towns in *Germany*, and *England* and *Scotland* before the late Reigns. This Truth is ſo obvious, that the moſt barefaced Advocates for an Army do not directly deny it, but qualify the Matter by telling us, that a Number not exceeding 15 or 20,000 Men, are a handful to ſo populous a Nation as this. Now I think that Number will bring as certain Ruin upon us as if they were as many Millions, and I will give my Reaſons for it.

It is

It is the Misfortune of all Countries, that they ſometimes lie under an unhappy neceſſity to defend themſelves by Arms againſt the Ambition of their Governors, and to fight for what's their own; for if a Prince will rule us with a Rod of Iron, and invade our Laws and Liberties, and neither be prevailed upon by our Miſeries, Supplications or Tears, we have no Power upon Earth to appeal to, and therefore muſt patiently ſubmit to our Bondage, or ſtand upon our own Defence; which if we are enabled to do, we ſhall never be put upon it, but our Swords may grow ruſty in our Hands: for that Nation is ſureſt to live in Peace, that is moſt capable of making War, and a Man that hath a Sword by his ſide, ſhall have leaſt occaſion to make uſe of it. Now I ſay, if the King hath twenty thouſand Men beforehand with us, or much leſs than half that Number, the People can make no Effort to defend their Liberties without the Aſſiſtance of a foreign Power, which is a Remedy moſt commonly as bad as the Diſeaſe; and if we have not a Power within our ſelves to defend our Laws, we are no Government.

For *England* being a ſmall Country, few ſtrong Towns in it, and thoſe in the King's Hands, the Nobility diſarmed by the deſtruction of Tenures, and the Militia not to be raiſed but by the King's Command, there can be no Force levied in any part of *England*, but muſt be deſtroyed in its Infancy by a few Regiments: For what will three or four thouſand naked unarmed Men ſignify againſt as many Troops of mercenary Soldiers? What if they ſhould come into the Field, and ſay you muſt chuſe theſe and theſe Men your Repreſentatives, where is your Choice? What if they ſhould ſay, Parliaments are ſeditious and factious Aſſemblies, and therefore ought to be aboliſhed; what is become of your Freedom? Or if they ſhould encompaſs the Parliament Houſe, and threaten if they do not ſurrender up their Government, they will put them to the Sword; What is become of the old *Engliſh* Conſtitution? Theſe things may be, and have been done in ſeveral Parts of the World. What is it that cauſeth the Tyranny of the *Turks* at this Day, but Servants in Arms? What is it that preſerved

ed the glorious Commonwealth of *Rome*, but Swords in the Hands of its Citizens?

And if beſides this, we conſider the great Prerogatives of the Crown, and the vaſt Intereſt the King has and may acquire by the diſtribution of ſo many profitable Offices of the Houſhold, of the Revenue, of State, of Law, of Religion, and the Navy, together with the Aſſiſtance of a powerful Party, who have been always the faſt and conſtant Friends to Arbitrary Power, whoſe only Quarrel to his preſent Majeſty is, that he has knocked off the Chains and Fetters they thought they had locked faſt upon us; a Party who hath once engaged us in an unhappy Quarrel amongſt our ſelves (the Conſequence of which I dread to name) and ſince in a tedious and chargeable War, at the vaſt expence of Blood and Treaſure, to avoid that Captivity they had prepared for us: I ſay, if any one conſiders this, he will be convinced we have enough to do to guard our ſelves againſt the Power of the Court, without having an Army thrown into the Scale againſt us. And we have found oftner than once by too fatal Experience the truth of this; for if we look back

back to the late Reigns, we ſhall ſee this Nation brought to the brink of Deſtruction, and breathing out the laſt gaſp of their Liberty; and it is more owing to our good Fortune, than to any Effort we were able to make, that we eſcaped the fatal Blow.

And I believe no Man will deny, but if King *Charles* the Firſt had had five thouſand Men before-hand with us, the People had never ſtruck a ſtroke for their Liberties; or if the late King *James* would have been contented with Arbitrary Power without bringing in Popery, but he and his *black Guard* would have bound us hand and foot before this time: But when their ill-contrived Oppreſſion came home to their own Doors, they quickly ſhewed the World how different a thing it was to ſuffer themſelves, and to make other People ſuffer, and ſo we came by our Deliverance. And tho the late King had the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, People, and his own Army againſt him, and we had a very wiſe and courageous Prince nearly related to the Crown, and backed by a powerful State, for our Protector, yet we account this Revolution next to a Miracle.

I will

I will add here, that moſt of the Nations I inſtanced before were enſlaved by ſmall Armies: *Oliver Cromwel* left behind him but 27,009. Men, and the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was the Darling of the People was ſuppreſſed with two thouſand; nay, *Cæſar* ſeized *Rome* it ſelf with five thouſand, and fought the Battel of *Pharſalia*, where the fate of the World was decided, with twenty two thouſand: And moſt of the Revolutions of the Roman and Ottoman Empires ſince, were cauſed by the Pretorian Bands, and the Court Janizaries, the former of which never exceeded eight, nor the latter twelve thouſand Men. And if no greater Numbers could make ſuch Diſturbances in thoſe vaſt Empires, what will double the Force do with us? And they themſelves confeſs it when they argue for an Army; for they tell us we may be ſurprized with ten or fifteen thouſand Men from *France*, and having no regular Force to oppoſe them, they will over-run the Kingdom. Now if ſo ſmall a Force can oppoſe the King, the Militia, with the united Power of the Nobility, Gentry and Commons, what will an equal Power do againſt

againſt the People, when ſupported by the Royal Authority, and a never-failing Intereſt that will attend it, except when it acts for the Publick Good?

But we are told, this Army is not deſigned to be made a part of our Conſtitution, but to be kept only for a little Time, till the Circumſtances of *Europe* will better permit us to be without them. But I would know of theſe Gentlemen, when they think that Time will be? Will it be during the Life of King *James*, or after his Death? Shall we have leſs to fear from the Youth and Vigor of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, than now from an unhappy Man ſinking under the Load of Age and Misfortunes? Or will *France* be more capable of offending us juſt after this tedious and conſumptive War, than hereafter when it has had a breathing time to repair the Calamities it has ſuffered by it? No: we can never disband our Army with ſo much Safety as at this time; and this is well known by theſe Conſpirators againſt their Country, who are ſatisfied that a Continuation of them now, is an Eſtabliſhment of them for ever: for whilſt the Circumſtances of *Eu-*

rope

rope ſtand in the preſent Poſture, the Argument will be equal to continue them: if the State of *Europe* ſhould alter to the Advantage of *France*, the Reaſon will grow ſtronger, and we ſhall be told we muſt increaſe our Number. But if there ſhould be ſuch a turn of Affairs in the World, that we were no longer in apprehenſion of the *French* Power, they may be kept up without our Aſſiſtance; nay, the very Diſcontents they may create ſhall be made an Argument for the continuing them. But if they ſhould be kept from oppreſſing the People, in a little time they will grow habitual to us, and almoſt become a part of our Conſtitution, and by degrees we ſhall be brought to believe them, not only, not dangerous, but neceſſary: for every body ſees, but few underſtand; and thoſe few will never be able to perſuade the Multitude that there is any danger in thoſe Men they have lived quietly with for ſome Years, eſpecially when the disbanding them will (as they will be made believe) coſt them more Money out of their own Pockets than to maintain a Militia; and of this we have had already an unhappy Experience. For

King

King *Charles* the *Second* being connived at, in keeping a few Guards (which were the firſt ever known to an *Engliſh* King beſides his Penſioners, and his Beef-eaters) he inſenſibly increaſed their Number, till he left a body of Men to his Succeſſor great enough to tell the Parliament, he would be no longer bound by the Laws he had ſworn to; and under the Shelter and Protection of theſe he raiſed an Army, that had put a period to our Government, if a Complication of Cauſes (which may never happen again) had not preſented the Prince of *Orange* with a Conjuncture to aſſert his own and the Nation's Rights. And tho we have ſo lately eſcaped this Precipice, yet Habit has made Soldiers ſo familiar to us, that ſome who pretend to be zealous for Liberty, ſpeak of it as a hardſhip to his preſent Majeſty, to refuſe him as many Men as his Predeceſſors, not conſidering that the raiſing them then was a Violation of our Laws; and that his Government is built upon the Deſtruction of theirs; and can no more ſtand upon the ſame rubbiſh, than the Kingdom of Heaven be founded in Unrighteouſneſs.

my be what it will, we cannot be without one; and if we muſt be Slaves, we had better be ſo to a Proteſtant Prince than a Popiſh one, and the worſt of all Popiſh ones, the *French* King. Now I am of Mr. *Johnſon*'s Opinion, that the putting an Epithet upon Tyranny is falſe Heraldry; for Proteſtant and Popiſh are both alike; and if I muſt be a Slave, it is very indifferent to me who is my Maſter; and therefore I ſhall never conſent to be ruled by an Army, which is the worſt that the moſt barbarous Conqueſt can impoſe upon me; which notwithſtanding we have little reaſon to fear whilſt we keep the Seas well guarded.

It is certain there is no Country ſo ſituated for Naval Power as *England*. The Sea is our Element, our Seamen have as much hardy Bravery, and our Ships are as numerous, and built of as good Materials as any in the World: Such a Force well applyed and managed is able to give Laws to the Univerſe; and if we keep a competent part of it well armed in times of Peace, it is the moſt ridiculous thing in nature to believe any Prince will have thoughts of invading us, unleſs he propoſes to be

ſuperiour to us in Naval Power: For the Preparations neceſſary for ſuch an Undertaking will alarm all *Europe*, give both to us and our Confederates time to arm, and put our ſelves in a Poſture of defence. And whoever conſiders that the Prince of *Orange* with ſix hundred Ships brought but fourteen thouſand Men, and the mighty *Spaniſh Armado* (then the Terror of the World) imbarked but eighteen thouſand, will be aſſured that no Invaſion can be ſo ſudden upon us, but we ſhall have time to get ready our whole Fleet, bring ſome Forces from *Holland* and *Ireland*, and prepare our own Militia if there ſhall be occaſion for it; eſpecially in times of Peace, when we ſhall have the Liberty of all the Ports of *France*, and ſhall or may have intelligence from every one of them.

But they tell us ſuch a Wind may happen as may be favourable to our own Enemy, and keep us within our Ports; which I ſay, as *France* lies to *England*, is almoſt impoſſible: for if we lie about *Falmouth*, or the *Land's end*, no Fleet from *Breſt* or the Ocean can eſcape us without a Miracle; and if the Deſign be to invade us from any

Port in the Channel, a very few Ships (which may ſafely lie at Anchor) will certainly prevent it. Nor is it to be conceived that That cautious Prince will be at a vaſt Expence for the Contingency of ſuch a critical Wind, or will ſend an Army into a Country where their Retreat is certainly cut off, when the failing in any part of his Deſign will bring a new War upon him, which lately coſt a third part of his People, a great many large Countries and ſtrong Towns with all the Honor he had heaped up by his former Victories, to get rid of.

And here I muſt confeſs, that the Miſapplication of our Naval Force (which is our known Strength) for theſe laſt eight Years, is the ſtrongeſt, as it is the moſt uſual Argument againſt me: which unriddles a Myſtery I did not underſtand before, tho I never was ſo fooliſh as to believe all the Errors of that kind were the Effects of chance or ignorance; or that loſing ſo many Opportunities of deſtroying the *French* Fleet had not ſome Extraordinary, tho Occult Cauſe; and yet notwithſtanding the reſtleſs Attempts of our Enemies, and the paltry Politicks of our own wretched Stateſ-

men,

men, this Fleet triumphantly defended us, ſo that our Enemies in eight Years War could not get one opportunity of invading our Country.

It is objected, that the Officers of our Fleet may be corrupted, or that a Storm may ariſe which may deſtroy it all at once, and therefore we ought to have two ſtrings to our Bow. By which I perceive all their Fears lie one way, and that they do not care if they precipitate us into inevitable Ruin at home, to prevent a diſtant Poſſibility of it from *France*. But I think this Phantom too may be laid by a well trained Militia, and then all their Bugbears will vaniſh. This word can be no ſooner out, but there is a volley of ſmall Shot let fly at me: What! muſt we truſt our Safety to an undiſciplined Mob, who never dreamt of fighting when they undertook the Service; who are not indured to the Fatigue of a Camp, or ever ſaw the Face of an Enemy? And then they magnify mercenary Troops; as if there was an intrinſick Virtue in a red Coat, or that a Raggamuffin from robbing of Hen-Rooſts, in two Campaigns, could be cudgeled into a Hero. Tho I muſt con-

feſs the Conduct of the Court by induſtriouſly enervating this Force, do in ſome meaſure juſtify their Objections: For the deteſtable Policies of the laſt Reigns were with the utmoſt Art and Application to diſarm the People, and make the Militia uſeleſs, to countenance a ſtanding Army in order to bring in Popery and Slavery; and if any Methods were propoſed to make it more ſerviceable, the Court would never ſuffer them to be debated; and ſuch Officers as were more zealous in exerciſing their Companies than others, were reprimanded, as deſigning to raiſe a Rebellion. And now the worthy Patriots of this Reign are taking advantage of the traiterous Neglect and infamous Policies of the laſt. But why may not a Militia be made uſeful? Why may not the Nobility, Gentry, and Freeholders of *England* be truſted with the Defence of their own Lives, Eſtates and Liberties, without having Guardians and Keepers aſſigned them? And why may they not defend them with as much Vigour and Courage as Mercenaries who have nothing to loſe, nor any other Tie to engage their Fidelity, than the inconſiderable pay of Six-

pence

pence a Day, which they may have from the Conqueror?

Why may not the Laws for ſhooting in Croſsbows be changed into Firelocks, and a competent Number of them be kept in every Pariſh for the young Men to exerciſe with on Holidays, and Rewards offered to the moſt expert, to ſtir up their Emulation?

Why may not the whole Militia of *England* be reduced to ſixty thouſand, and a third part of thoſe kept by turns in conſtant Exerciſe?

Why may not a Man be liſted in the Militia till he be diſcharged by his Maſter, as well as in the Army till he be diſcharged by his Captain? And why may not the ſame Horſe be always ſent forth, unleſs it can be made appear he is dead or maimed!

Why may not the private Soldiers of the Army, when they are diſperſed in the ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, be ſent to the Militia? and why may not the inferiour Officers of the Army in ſome proportion command them?

I ſay, theſe and other like things may be done, and ſome of them are done in our own

own Plantations, and the Iſlands of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, as alſo in *Poland*, *Switzerland*, and the Country of the *Griſons*; which are Nations much leſs conſiderable than *England*, have as formidable Neighbours, no Sea nor Fleet to defend them, nothing but a Militia to depend upon, and yet no one dares attack them. And we have ſeen as great Performances done formerly by the Apprentices of *London*, and in the late War by the *Vaudois* in *Savoy*, the *Miquelets* in *Catalonia*, and the Militia in *Ireland*, as can be paralleled in Hiſtory: And ſo it would be with us, if the Court will give their hearty aſſiſtance in promoting this Deſign? if the King would appear in Perſon at the Head of them, and give Rewards and Honour to ſuch as deſerve them, we ſhould quickly ſee the young Nobility and Gentry appear magnificent in Arms and Equipage, ſhew a generous Emulation in outvying one another in Military Exerciſes, and place a noble Ambition in making themſelves ſerviceable to their Country: as anciently the *Achaians* and *Thebans* from being the moſt contemptible Nations in *Greece*, by the Conduct of *Pelopidas*, *Epaminondas*, and *Philopemen*,

lopemen, came to have the beſt diſciplined Troops and moſt excellent Soldiers in the World.

They object, that ſuch a Militia as this is a Standing Army, and will be as dangerous and much more chargeable. I anſwer;

That there can be no danger from an Army where the Nobility and Gentry of *England* are the Commanders, and the Body of it made up of the Freeholders, their Sons and Servants; unleſs we can conceive that the Nobility and Gentry will join in an unnatural Deſign to make void their own Titles to their Eſtates and Liberties: and if they could entertain ſo ridiculous a Propoſition, they would never be obeyed by the Soldiers, who will have a Reſpect to thoſe that ſend them forth and pay them, and to whom they muſt return again when their time is expired. For if I ſend a Man, I will as ſurely chuſe one who ſhall fight for me, as a mercenary Officer will chuſe one that ſhall fight againſt me: and the late Governments are Witneſſes to the truth of this, who debauched the Militia more than ever I hope to ſee it again; and yet durſt never rely upon them to aſſiſt their arbi-

trary

trary Deſigns; as we may remember in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Invaſion, their Officers durſt not bring them near his Army for fear of a Revolt. Nay, the Penſioner-Parliament themſelves turned ſhort upon the Court, when they expected them to give the finiſhing Stroke to our Ruin.

To the laſt part of the Objection, That this Militia will be more chargeable than an Army; I anſwer, That ſince (as I ſuppoſe) no Man propoſes wholly to lay them aſide, if we add the extraordinary Expence of maintaining twenty thouſand Men to the ordinary charge of the Militia, it is much more than ſufficient to make the latter uſeful. But if this Objection were true, it ought not to enter into competition with the Preſervation of our Laws and Liberties; for it is better to give a third part of my Eſtate, if it were neceſſary, than to have all taken from me.

And tho it ſhould be granted, that a Militia is not as ſerviceable as an Army kept to conſtant Diſcipline, yet I believe theſe Gentlemen themſelves will confeſs, that ſixty thouſand of them trained as before, are as good as twenty thouſand of their Stand-

ing

ing Troops, which is the Queſtion; for it is impoſſible to have them Both uſeful at the ſame time, they being as incompatible as broad and clipt Money, never current together; and therefore the Court muſt depend wholly upon a Militia, or elſe they will not depend upon them at all. And this by the way may ſilence that Objection, that we muſt keep our Army till the Militia be diſciplined; for that will never be done whilſt the Court has an Army: and the ſame Objection will be made ſeven Years hence as now; ſo that a ſmall Army can be of no uſe to us, but to make our Fleet neglected, to hinder the Militia from being trained, and inſlave us at home: for they are too few to defend us againſt an Invaſion, and too many for the People to oppoſe.

I dare ſpeak with the greater Aſſurance upon this Subject, having the Authority of as great Men as the World hath produced for my Juſtification. *Machiavel* ſpends ſeveral Chapters to prove, that no Prince or State ought to ſuffer any of their Subjects to make War their Profeſſion, and that no Nation can be ſecure with any other Forces than a ſettled Militia. My Lord

Bacon

Bacon in ſeveral places bears his Teſtimony againſt a Standing Army, and particularly he tells us, that a mercenary Army is fitteſt to invade a Country, but a Militia to defend it; becauſe the firſt have Eſtates to get, and the latter to protect. Mr. *Harrington* has founded his whole *Oceana* upon a trained Militia; and I have lately read a *French* Book, called, The Hiſtory of the Politicks of *France*, which ſays, *Enfin ſi on veut ruiner les Anglois il ſuffit de les obliger a tenir des Troupes ſur pied* *. Nay, I believe no Author ever treated of a free Government, that did not expreſs his Abhorrence of an Army; for (as my Lord *Bacon* ſays) whoever does uſe them, tho he may ſpread his Feathers for a Time, he will mew them ſoon after: and raiſe them with what deſign you pleaſe, yet, like the *Weſt-Indian* Dogs in *Boccalini*, in a little time they will certainly turn Sheep-biters.

Perhaps it will be ſaid, that the Artillery of the World is changed ſince ſome of theſe wrote, and War is become more a Myſtery, and therefore more Experience is

* *i. e. To ruin the* Engliſh, *let them keep up a* Standing Army.

neceſſary

neceſſary to make good Soldiers. But wherein does this Myſtery conſiſt? not in exerciſing a Company and obeying a few words of Command; theſe are Myſteries that the dulleſt Noddle will comprehend in a few Weeks. Nay, I have heard that the Modern Exerciſe is much ſhorter and eaſier than the Ancient. But the great Improvements in War are in regular Encampments, Fortification, Gunnery, skilful Engineering, *&c.* Theſe are Arts not to be learned without much Labour and Experience, and are as much gained in the Cloſet as in the Field; and I ſuppoſe no Man will ſay, that the keeping Standing Forces is neceſſary to make a good Engineer.

As to actual Experience in War, that is not eſſential either to a Standing Army or a Militia, as ſuch; but the former may be without it, and the latter gain it according as they have Opportunities of Action. It is true at preſent the Army hath been trained up in a long War, and hath gained great Knowledge: but theſe Men will not be loſt when they are disbanded, they will be ſtill in *England*; and if the Parliament does give them a Gratuity ſuitable to the Ser-

vice they have done their Country, they will be ready to reſume their Arms whenever occaſion offers.

But I deſire to know of theſe Patriots, how comes an Army neceſſary to our Preſervation now, and never ſince the Conqueſt before? Did ever the prevailing Party in the Wars of *York* and *Lancaſter* attempt to keep up a Standing Army to ſupport themſelves? No: they had more Senſe than to ſacrifice their own Liberty, and more Honour than to inſlave their Country, the more eaſily to carry on their own Faction. Were not the *Spaniards* as powerful, as good Soldiers, and as much our Enemies, as the *French* are now? Was not *Flanders* as near us as *France?* and the Popiſh Intereſt in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time as ſtrong as the Jacobite is now? and yet that moſt excellent Princeſs never dreamt of a Standing Army, but thought her ſureſt Empire was to reign in the Hearts of her Subjects, which the following Story ſufficiently teſtifies. When the Duke of *Alanſon* came over to *England*, and for ſome time had admired the Riches of the City, the Conduct of her Government, and the Magnificence

cence of her Court, he asked her amidſt ſo much Splendor, where were her Guards? which Queſtion ſhe reſolved a few Days after when ſhe took him in her Coach thro the City, and pointing to the People (who received her in Crouds with repeated Acclamations) Theſe, ſaid ſhe, my Lord, are my Guards; theſe have their Hands, their Hearts, and their Purſes always ready at my Command: and theſe were Guards indeed, who defended her thro a long and ſucceſsful Reign of 44 Years againſt all the Machinations of *Rome*, the Power of *Spain*, a diſputed Title, and the perpetual Conſpiracies of her own Popiſh Subjects; a Security the *Roman* Emperors could not boaſt of with their Pretorian Bands, and their *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Armies.

Were not the *French* as powerful in *Charles* the Second and King *James*'s time, as they are after this long and deſtructive War, and a leſs Alliance to oppoſe them? and yet we then thought a much leſs Army than is now contended for, a moſt inſupportable Grievance; inſomuch that in King *Charles* the Second's Reign the Grand Jury preſented them, and the Penſioner-

Parliament voted them to be a Nuſance; ſent Sir *J. Williamſon* to the Tower, for ſaying the King might keep Guards for the Defence of his Perſon, and addreſſed to have them disbanded. And now our Apoſtates would make their Court by doing what the worſt Parliament ever *England* ſaw could not think of without Horror and Confuſion. They ſay the King of *France* was in league with our late Kings, ſo he is with us; and he would have broke it then, if he had thought it ſafe, and for his Intereſt, as much as now. But they ſay we have more diſaffected Perſons to join with him; which I muſt deny, for I believe no King of *England* in any Age had deſervedly more Intereſt than the preſent; and if during ſuch an expenſive War, in which we have conſumed ſo much Blood and Treaſure, paid ſuch vaſt and unequal Taxes, loſt ſo many thouſand Ships, and bore a ſhock by recoining our Money, which would have torn up another Nation from its Foundation, and reduced it to its ancient Chaos, when moſt Countries would have ſunk under the Misfortune, and repined at their Deliverance (as Men in ſick-

neſs

neſs commonly quarrel with their deareſt Friends) I ſay, if at that time he had ſo great and univerſal an Intereſt, there can be no doubt but in times of Peace, when the People reap the Fruits of that Courage and Conduct he hath ſhewn in their Defence, he will be the moſt beloved and glorious Prince that ever filled the *Engliſh* Throne.

I will make one Aſſertion more, and then conclude this Diſcourſe, *viz.* That the moſt likely way of reſtoring King *James*, is maintaining a Standing Army to keep him out.

For the King's Safety ſtands upon a Rock whilſt it depends upon the ſolid Foundation of the Affections of the People, which is never to be ſhaken till it is as evident as the Sun in the Firmament, that there is a formed Deſign to overthrow our Laws and Liberties; but if we keep a Standing Army all depends upon the uncertain and capricious Humours of the Soldiery, which in all Ages have produced more violent and ſudden Revolutions, than ever have been known in unarmed Governments: For there is ſuch a Chain of Dependance a-

mongſt them, that if two or three of t
chief Officers ſhould be diſobliged, or h
Intrigues with Jacobite Miſtreſſes; or
the King of *France* could once again b
his Penſioners into the Court or Army,
offer a better Market to ſome that are
already, we ſhall have another Rehearſal F
volution, and the People be only idle Sp
tators of their own Ruin. And whoſoe
conſiders the Compoſition of an Arn
and doubts this, let him look back to t
Roman Empire, where he will find out
twenty ſix Emperors, ſixteen depoſed a
murdered by their own Armies; nay, h
the Hiſtory of the World is made up of I
amples of this kind: but we need not
any farther than our own Country, wh
we have twice kept Armies in times
Peace, and both times they turned out th
own Maſters. The firſt under *Cromwel*
pelled that Parliament under which th
had fought ſucceſsfully for many Yea
afterwards under General *Monck* they deſtrc
ed the Government they before ſet up, a
brought back King *Charles* the Second; a
he afterwards disbanded them, leſt th
might have turned him out again. The oth

Inſtan

Inſtance is freſh in every one's Memory, how King *James*'s Army joined with the Prince of *Orange*, now our rightful and lawful King. And what could have been expected otherwiſe from Men of diſſolute and debauched Principles, who call themſelves Soldiers of Fortune; who make Murder their Profeſſion, and enquire no farther into the Juſtice of the Cauſe, than how they ſhall be paid; who muſt be falſe, rapacious and cruel in their own Defence? For having no other Profeſſion or Subſiſtence to depend upon, they are forced to ſtir up the Ambition of Princes, and engage them in perpetual Quarrels, that they may ſhare of the Spoils they make. Such Men, like ſome ſort of ravenous Fiſh, fare beſt in a Storm; and therefore we may reaſonably ſuppoſe they will be better pleaſed with the tyrannical Government of the late King, than the mild and gracious Adminiſtration of his preſent Majeſty, who came over to *England* to reſcue us from Oppreſſion, and he has done it, and triumphs in it in ſpite of his Enemies.

In this Diſcourſe I have purpoſely omitted ſpeaking of the leſſer Inconveniencies

attending a Standing Army, ſuch as frequent Quarrels, Murders and Robberies, the Deſtruction of all the Game in the Country; the quartering upon publick, and ſometimes private Houſes; the influencing Elections of Parliament, by an artificial Diſtribution of Quarters; the rendering ſo many Men uſeleſs to Labour, and almoſt Propagation, together with a much greater Deſtruction of them, by taking them from a laborious way of living to a looſe idle Life; and beſides this, the Inſolence of the Officers, and the Debaucheries that are committed both by them and their Soldiers in all the Towns they come in, to the Ruin of multitudes of Women, Diſhonour of their Families and ill Example to others; and a numerous train of Miſchiefs beſides, almoſt endleſs to enumerate. Theſe are trivial as well as particular Grievances, in reſpect of thoſe I have treated about, which ſtrike at the Heart's-blood of our Conſtitution, and therefore I thought theſe not conſiderable enough to bear a part in a Diſcourſe of this nature: Beſides they often procure their own Remedy, working Miracles, and making ſome Men ſee that were

born

born blind, and impregnable againſt all the Artillery of Reaſon; for Experience is only the Miſtreſs of Fools: A wiſe Man will know a *Pike* will bite when he ſees his Teeth, which another will not make diſcovery of but by the loſs of a Finger.

What I have ſaid here againſt Standing Armies, I would be underſtood of ſuch as are the Inſtruments of Tyranny and their Country's Ruin, and therefore I need make no Apology to our own, which was raiſed by the Conſent of the Parliament in this juſt and neceſſary War, and next unto God and our great and glorious Deliverer, have by their Bravery and Conduct preſerved our Liberties, and the Proteſtant Religion thro *Europe*. For if in future Reigns any Deſigns ſhould be levelled againſt our Laws, we may be aſſured theſe Men would be diſcarded, and others promoted in their rooms, who are fit for ſuch arbitrary Purpoſes.

Nor do I think it reaſonable that our Army ſhould be ruined by that Peace which by their Courage and Fidelity they have procured for their Country; and I doubt not but the Generoſity and Gratitude of the Parliament will give them a Donative

equal to their Commiſſions, which, when the Foreigners are paid and ſent home, will amount to no extraordinary Sum; at moſt it is but ſuppoſing the War to have ſix Months longer continuance, which is an eaſy Compoſition for the Charge of keeping them. But if there are any Gentlemen amongſt them who think we can no otherwiſe expreſs our Gratitude, but by ſigning and ſealing our own Ruin, I hope we ſhall diſappoint their Expectations, and not give the World occaſion to tell ſo fooliſh a Story of us, as that we turned to Graſs one of the moſt powerful Monarchs in the World for breaking our Laws, that we maintained an eight years War at the expence of forty Millions of Money, and the Blood of three hundred thouſand Men, to juſtify the glorious Action we have done; that by it we *preſerved* all *Europe* beſides, and *loſt* our own *Liberties*; at leaſt I hope it ſhall not be ſaid we conſented to it.

THE END.

LETTERS

LETTERS

Between

Mr. MOYLE,

And ſeveral of his FRIENDS.

Firſt Printed in the Year, 1695.

LETTERS

Between

Mr. *Moyle*, and ſeveral of his *Friends*.

To Walter Moyle, *Eſq;*

Dear Sir,

YOU know, that a *Grave Fellow* † aſſures us, that upon the Ceſſation of Oracles, Lamentable Cries were heard in the Air, proclaiming along the Coaſts the Death of the great *Pan:* And have not you upon this Dearth of good Senſe, and this Ceſſation of Wit? tell me truly; have not you heard

Theſe ſounds upon the Corniſh *Shore,*
The ſage Will Urwin * *is no more!*

Gone is the *Univerſal Lord* of *Wit!* he to whom all the *Wits* paid Homage; for whom his Subjects ſet a Tax upon Words, and

† PLUTARCH. * *A Coffee-Man in* Covent-Garden.

laid

laid exorbitant Cuſtoms on Thoughts. He is dead, alas, he is dead!

Dead I mean, Sir, in a legal Capacity, that is, Out-lawed and gone into the *Fryars*; † to go into which is once more to Outlaw himſelf. He has done it, Sir, and ill Fortune has brought him to be a *Felo de ſe* that way. For ſince the Law thought it but Juſt to put *Will* out of its Protection, *Will* thought it but prudent to put himſelf out of its Power. And ſince the Law could uſe him with ſo much Contempt, as to declare to all the World that it does not care for *Will Urwin*, *Will*, who is extreamly ſtout in Adverſity, has declared by his Actions that he does not care for the Law. *Virgil* tells us in his Sixth Book, that the Souls in Hell were buſied about the ſame things in which they were employed upon Earth; Even ſo does Sage *Will* uſe the ſame Nutmeg-Grater, and the ſame Tea-Pot in the *Fryars*, that he handled before in *Bowſtreet*. Thus has he left the Wits, without any Sorrow, tho he loves them,

† White-Fryars *in* Fleetſtreet *was at that Time an* Aſylum *for Debtors, and belongs to* Bury *St.* Edmunds *in* Suffolk.

and

and without taking any leave of them. For *Will* thinks they cannot be long from him, and he ſays. he expects that in a very little time his old Company ſhould be conſtant at his new Houſe. And doſt not thou think that they too have reaſon to expect the very ſame thing? For as the Death of any Man ought to put all his Friends in mind, that he went before but to lead them the way; ſo *Will's* Departure from this miſerable Life, this lewd *Covent-Garden*-Life, and his ferrying from *Somerſet-ſtairs* to the infernal Shore of *Alſatia*, ſhould be a *Memento* to the reſt of the Wits, that he is but gone whither they all muſt follow.

To leave off Poetical Similies, this Body-Politick is in a curſed Condition; and cannot keep long together without a Head. The Members are at preſent in a grave Debate how to get one. To morrow the whole Houſe will reſolve it ſelf into a Grand Committee, to conſult about Ways and Means of making Proviſion for the Common Neceſſities. Some talk of an Exciſe upon *May-Dew*, and *R[illegible]rry-Brandy*: That there will be a Poll [illegible] aſſerted,

in which every Man is to pay according to his reſpective condition. To morrow it will be known to how much each Man's *Quota* amounts. As for Example; How much a *Poet* is to pay, how much a *Wit*, how much a *Politician*, and how much a *Critick*. A *Critick* did I ſay? I beg your Pardon. They have voted *Nemine Contradicente*, that they will ceſs no Critick till Mr. *Moyle* returns.

I have given them my Sentiments upon the fore-mentioned Poll, which were, that it was ſomething hard to make a Man pay for being called, Wit, Poet, or Critick; That they ſaw by Experience lately in the State, that poor Dogs grumbled to pay for their Titles. How then could they think that People would be contented to be Taxed for their Nick-Names? That in ſetling this Tax they were to take a quite contrary Method, to that which was taken upon ſetling a Tax in the State. That in the State, ſometimes a Man paid for what he really had; As for Example, when a Country Squire paid for his Land or his Money; and ſometimes for what he re-

ally had not, as when a Cit that is twice dubbed, Knight by the King, and Cuckold by his Wife, pays for his Honour, and for his Children. The firſt of which is but as it were his, for it is really the King's; and the ſecond of which are but as it were his, for they are really the Courtier's who helped him to his Title. In the State too a Man is made to pay for ſomething which he does, or for ſomething which he does not. As a *Jacobite* pays ſo much for Swearing when he's Drunk, and ſo much more for not Swearing when he is Sober. But that in our caſe, if we would be exactly Juſt, we ſhould make People pay neither for what they have, nor for what they have not; nor for what they do, nor for what they do not; But ſhould oblige them to Pay only for pretending to have what they really have not, or for offering to do, what they are utterly incapable of doing. That thus the Tax would certainly fall upon the moſt Solvent Part of the Body. For how ridiculous would it be to Tax a Man for having Poetry and Wit, when they are almoſt always Signs, that he hath not a Farthing to Pay?

On

On the other ſide, how abſurd would it be to Tax him for a bare want of thoſe Qualities? ſince when a Man is Dull without pretending, it is ten to one but he is Poor, for Riches make Men Vain, and Vanity makes them Affected. But he who is not much at his Eaſe, is hardly at leiſure for Affectation, and I have often ſeen, that when Vanity has thrown a Fop out of Nature, Neceſſity has brought him back again: But a rich Rogue will be ſure to be always pretending. Fortune takes Pleaſure in making thoſe Vain, whom Nature before made Impotent, and both of them often conſpire to finiſh a Coxcomb. Thus I would have none Pay, but they who put Gravity upon us for Wiſdom, Viſions for Politicks, and Quibbles for Wit; and I would have no Man at any Expence for being called a Poet, a Wit, or a Critick, unleſs it be by himſelf. It would be equally hard to lay a Tax upon any one, for his Ill-Fortune, or for his Ill-Nature, ſince they are things of which no Man is Maſter. But what! a Sot cannot help his Vanity. Agreed. But then it makes him ſo much

happier

happier than he deſerves to be, that he may well be contented to pay it.

From Will's *that was,*
Aug. 5. 1695.

I am

Your moſt humble Servant,

John Dennis.

To WALTER MOYLE, *Eſq;*

Dear Sir,

THO' you are already indebted a Letter to me, yet I think fit to give you credit for another; though perhaps you may little deſire to run into Debt this way: But it is for two Reaſons that I give you the Trouble of this. For, in the firſt place, I am taking a turn for a little while in the Country, and I deſign that the Prevention of this ſhould make ſome amends for the Delay of my next. In the ſecond place,

I have made ſome proviſion of Scandal, which I am willing to make uſe of, before it grows ſtale upon my Hands. Juſt after I writ my laſt, I threw my ſelf into a Detached Party, which marched from *Wills* to *Namur*; with the ſame Deſign that the Volunteers went to *Breſt*, to keep out of the Fray, and be Spectators of the Action. However, before they were come to Blows, I went amongſt the Tents, and had ſome Diſcourſe with Major-General *Ramſay* * whom I found to be Father to Mr. *Bays's Parthenope*. For the Major-General is a very honeſt Fellow, who ſells Ale by the Town Wall: We had the Satisfaction to ſee that the Town was taken, and the whole Siege was carried on as Sieges generally are, with a great deal more Noiſe than Miſchief. On *Monday* laſt, which was the ſecond of *September*, I travelled into the City, where I had the Satisfaction to ſee two very ridiculous Sights. The firſt was a Bawd carted for an Action which had ſome relation to that memorable Day. For ſhe was convicted of being an Accomplice in ſetting

* *Proprietor of a* Puppet-Show.

Fire

Fire to an ancient and venerable Pile of the City, that is, ſhe was found guilty of being inſtrumental in the clapping an Alderman. I ſtood in a Bookſeller's Shop to ſee her paſs, which Bookſeller † was packing up ſome Scoundrel Authors to ſend them away to the Plantations. Theſe Authors are Criminals, which being ſentenced to be burnt here, have at laſt found Grace and got off with Tranſportation. You remember the terrible News that we heard at *P*———— which, as it ſprung from a ridiculous Occaſion, that is, my Lady Mayoreſs's Goſſiping, has had a comical Conſequence. For the Common-Council have made an Order, by which my Lady Mayoreſs is diſpenſed during the Wars, from ſeeing thoſe Children born in the City, which are got in the Suburbs; that is, from being preſent at one of their Wive's Labours. But it is time to return to the Fair. Laſt Night I took a turn in the Cloiſters, where I was entertained with a great many Dialogues between Vizor and *Vallency* * Wig, upon which I leave you to be Judge, wh[illegible]

† Mr. *Richard Parker*, under the *Royal E*[illegible]
* A celebrated Perriwig-maker.

my Eyes or my Ears were the better entertained of the two. For I heard a great deal of unintelligible Language, addreſſed to a great many inviſible Faces. As if becauſe the Women had reſolved not to be Seen, the Men had determined not to be Underſtood; and had in revenge eclipſed the Light of their Underſtanding by Fuſtian, as the others had obſcured the Luſtre of their Eyes by Velvet. Formerly the Ladies made uſe of White and Red to attract, but within theſe thirty Years black has ſucceeded, and the Devil is found more tempting in his proper Colour. I have neither time nor place for any more. You ſhall have the reſt by the firſt Opportunity.

Yours, &c.

John Dennis.

To WALTER MOYLE, *Eſq*;

Dear Sir,

YOUR long Silence made me conjecture, that you are ſo intent upon being Burgeſs of *Saltaſh*, that you had forgot the Citizens of *Covent-Garden*. At laſt I received an agreeable Letter from you. You had

had beſt have a care of talking in *Cornwal*, at the rate that you write to your Friends. If you do, the *Corniſh-men* may not think you rightly qualified to repreſent them. When you left the Town, you talked of a *Critical Correſpondence* between us. But Idleneſs on your ſide, and ill Humour on mine, have baulked a very hopeful Deſign. But an Accident has lately happened, which obliges me to provoke you. For there has juſt been a Play acted, called *The Mock-Marriage*, the Author * of which, whoſe Name I have forgot, aſſerts dogmatically in his Preface, that he who writes by Rule ſhall only have his Labour for his Pains. I know not what this Author can mean by this. For, whom does he pretend to perſuade by this fine Aſſertion? Not Mr. *Moyle*, and *Me* at leaſt. We know indeed very well, that a Man may write regularly, and yet fail of pleaſing; and that a Poet may pleaſe in a Play that is not regular. But this is eternally true, that he who writes regularly *cæteris paribus*, muſt always pleaſe more, than he who tranſ-

* *This Play was written by* Mr. Thomas Scot, *who alſo wrote another, called the* Unhappy Marriage.

greſſes the Rules. Nothing can pleaſe in a Play but Nature, no not in a Play which is written againſt the Rules; and the more there is of Nature in any Play, the more that Play muſt delight. Now the Rules are nothing but an Obſervation of Nature; For Nature is Rule and Order it ſelf. There is not one of the Rules, but what might be uſed to evince this. But I ſhall be contented with ſhewing ſome Inſtances of it, even in the Mechanical Rules of the Unities. And firſt for that of Place; it is certain that it is in Nature impoſſible, for a Man who is in the Square in *Covent-Garden*, to ſee the things, that at the ſame time are tranſacted at *Weſtminſter*. And then for that of Time, a reaſonable Man may delude himſelf ſo far, as to fancy that he ſits for the ſpace of twelve Hours, without removing, eating or ſleeping; but he muſt be a Devil that can fancy he does it for a Week. What I have ſaid may evince a Neceſſity of obſerving the Unities of Time and of Place, if a Poet would thoroughly write up to Nature: And then the Unity of Action follows on courſe. For, that two Actions which are entire, and independent

deat, ſhould happen in the ſame ſhort ſpace of Time, in the ſame little compaſs of Place, begin together, go on together, and end together, without obſtructing or confounding one another; this indeed may be done upon the Stage, but in Nature it is highly improbable. Well then, ſince the Rules are nothing but Nature it ſelf, and nothing but Nature can pleaſe, and ſince the more that any Play has of Nature, the more that Play muſt delight; it follows, that a Play which is regularly written, *cæteris paribus*, muſt pleaſe more than a Play which is written againſt the Rules, this is a Demonſtration. Rule may be ſaid to be to a Play, what Symetry of Parts is known to be to a Face: The Features may be regular, and yet a great or a delicate Air may be wanting. And there may be a commanding or engaging Air, in a Face whoſe Features are not regular. But this all the World muſt allow of, that there can never be ſeen any ſovereign Beauty, where Air and Regularity of Features are not united. Thus is Reaſon againſt this Author, but the Miſchief is, that Experience is againſt him too. For all

your Dramatick Poets muſt confeſs, that the Plays which they have writ with moſt Regularity, have been thoſe which have pleaſed moſt. I muſt trouble you with another Dramatical Criticiſm, but not till the next Opportunity.

I am Yours, &c.

October 26. 1695. John Dennis.

To Mr. CONGREVE.

Bake in *Cornwal* Oct. 7. 1695.

Dear Sir,

I Came home from the *Lands-End* Yeſterday, where I found three Letters from Mr. *Dennis*, and one from You with a humorous Deſcription of *John Abaſſus* *. Since the dubbing of *Don Quixote*, and the

* A Nickname given to a ſtupid *Suſſex* Squire, fond of Plays and Poems, who came up to Town, as he ſaid, *to ſee the Poets of the Age*, and was by ſome of them introduced among the *Wits* of *Will*'s Coffee-Houſe in *Covent-Garden* among whom they admitted him, under the form of a Poetical *Conſecration*, as a Member of their Society.

Cor-

Coronation of *Petrarch* in the *Capitol*, there has not been ſo great a Solemnity as the Conſecration of *John Abaſſus*. In all the Pagan-*Ritual*, I never met with the Form of *Poetical* Orders; but I believe the Ceremony of *Conſecrating* a Man to *Apollo*, is the ſame with *devoting* a Man to the *Dii Manes*, for both are Martyrs to Fame. I believe not a Man of the *Grave-Club* durſt aſſiſt at this ridiculous Scene, for fear of laughing outright. *Wycherley* was in his Kingdom, and for my part I would have rather ſate *there* than in the *Houſe* of *Commons*. Would to God I could laugh with you for one Hour or two at all the ridiculous things that have happened at *Will's Coffee-houſe* ſince I left it, it is the merrieſt place in the World; like *Africa*, every Day it produces a *Monſter*; and they are begot there juſt as *Pliny* ſays they are in *Africa*, Beaſts of different kinds come to drink, mingle with one another and beget Monſters. Preſent my humble Duty to my new Lord, ‡ and tell him, that I am preparing an Addreſs to congratulate his Acceſſion to the Throne of the Rabble. Tell the Lady who was the Author of the *Hue*

‡ *Halifax.*

and

think of you, and the reſt talk of you. There is no ſuch Monſter in this *Africa*, that is not ſenſible of your Abſence; even the worſt natured People, and thoſe of leaſt Wit lament it, I mean, half Criticks and Quiblers. To tell you all that want you, I ſhould name all the Creatures of *Covent-Garden*, which like thoſe of *Eden-Garden* would want ſome *Adam* to be a Godfather and give them Names. I cannot tell whether I may juſtly compare our *Covent-Garden*, to that of *Eden*, or no; for tho' I believe we may have variety of ſtrange Animals equal to *Paradiſe*, yet I fear we have not amongſt us the *Tree* of *Knowledge*. It had been much to the Diſadvantage of *Pliny*, had the *Coffee-houſe* been in his Days; for ſure he would have deſcribed ſome who frequent it; which would have given him the Reputation of a more fabulous Writer than he has now. But being in our Age it does him a Service, for we who know it, can give Faith to all his Monſters. You who took care to go down into the Country unlike a Poet, I hope will take care not to come up again like a Politician; for then, you will add a new Monſter to the *Coffee-houſe*, that was

never ſeen there before. So you may come back again, in your Soldier's Coat, for in that you will no more be ſuſpected for a Politician, than a Poet. Pray come upon any Terms, for you are wiſhed for by every body, but moſt wanted by your

Affectionate Friend

and Servant,

W. CONGREVE.

To Mr. CONGREVE *at* TUNBRIDGE.

London, Auguſt 8. 1695.

Dear Sir,

MR. *Moyle* and I have impatiently expected to hear from you. But if the *Well* which you drink of had ſprung up from *Lethe*, you could not have been more forgetful of us. Indeed, as the *Tunbridge-Water*

your Letters: but you repreſent the Town ſo agreeable to me, that you quite put me out of Conceit with the Country; and my Deſigns of making Obſervations from it.

Before I came to *Tunbridge*, I propoſed to my ſelf the Satisfaction of communicating the Pleaſures of the Place to you: But if I keep my Reſolution, I muſt tranſcribe, and return you your own Letters; ſince I muſt own I have met with nothing elſe ſo truly delightful. When you ſuppoſe the Country agreeable to me, you ſuppoſe ſuch Reaſons why it ſhould be ſo, that while I read your Letter I am of your Mind; but when I look off, I find I am only charmed with the Landskip which you have drawn. So that if I would ſee a fine Proſpect of the *Country*, I muſt deſire you to ſend it me from the *Town*; as if I would eat good Fruit *here* perhaps the beſt way were, to beg a Basket from my Friends in *Covent-Garden*. After all this, I muſt tell you, there is a great deal of Company at *Tunbridge*; and ſome very agreeable; but the greater part, is of that ſort, who at home converſe only with their own Relations; and conſequently when they come abroad, have few

Acquain-

Acquaintance, but ſuch as they bring with them. But were the Company better, or worſe, I would have you expect no Characters from me; for I profeſs my ſelf an Enemy to Detraction; and who is there, that can juſtly merit Commendation? I have a mind to *write* to you, without the pretence of any manner of *News*, as I might *drink* to you without naming a *Health*; for I intend only *my Service to you*. I wiſh for you very often, that I might recommend you to ſome new Acquaintance that I have made here, and think very well worth the keeping; I mean Idleneſs and a good Stomach. You would not think how People eat here; every Body has the Appetite of an *Oſtrich*, and as they drink *Steel* in the Morning, ſo I believe at Noon they could digeſt *Iron*. But ſure you will laugh at me for calling Idleneſs a new Acquaintance; when, to your Knowledge, the greateſt part of my Buſineſs, is little better. Ay, But here's the Comfort of the Change; I am idle now, without taking pains to be ſo, or to make other People ſo; for Poetry is neither in my Head, nor in my Heart. I know not whether theſe Waters may have

any Communication with *Lethe*, but ſure I am, they have none with the Streams of *Helicon*. I have often wondered how thoſe wicked Writers of Lampoons, could croud together ſuch quantities of execrable Verſes, tagged with bad Rhimes, as I have formerly ſeen ſent from this place: but I am half of Opinion now, that this Well is an *Anti-Hypocrene*. What if we ſhould get a Quantity of the Water privately conveyed into the Ciſtern at *Will's* Coffee-Houſe, for an Experiment? But I am extravagant—Tho' I remember *Ben. Johnſon* in his Comedy of CYNTHIA's *Revels*, makes a *Well*, which he there calls the *Fountain* of *Self-Love*, to be the Source of many entertaining and ridiculous Humours. I am of Opinion, that ſomething very comical and new might be brought upon the Stage, from a Fiction of the like Nature. But now I talk of the Stage, pray if any thing new ſhould appear there, let me have an Account of it: for tho *Plays* are a kind of *Winter-Fruit*, yet I know there are now and then ſome *Windfalls* at this time of Year, which muſt be preſently ſerved up, leſt they ſhould not keep till the proper Seaſon of Entertainment.

ment. 'Tis now the time, when the Sun breeds Inſects; and you muſt expect to have the Hum and Buz about your Ears, of Summer Flies and ſmall Poets. Cuckoos have this time allowed them to ſing, tho they are damned to Silence all the reſt of the Year. Beſides, the approaching Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew* both creates an Expectation and beſpeaks an Allowance of unnatural Productions and monſtrous Births. Methinks the Days of *Bartholomew-Fair* are like ſo many Sabbaths, or Days of Privilege, wherein Criminals and Malefactors in Poetry, are permitted to creep abroad. They put me in mind (tho at a different time of Year) of the Roman *Saturnalia*, when all the Scum, and Rabble, and Slaves of *Rome*, by a kind of annual and limited Manumiſſion, were ſuffered to make abominable Mirth, and profane the Days of *Jubilee*, with vile Buffoonry, by Authority. But I forget that I am writing a Poſt Letter, and run into length like a Poet in a Dedication, when he forgets his Patron to talk of himſelf. But I will take care to make no Apology for it, leſt my Excuſe (as Excuſes generally do) ſhould add to the Fault. Beſides, I would have no

appearance of Formality, when I am to tell you, that *I am*,

Tunbridge-Wells,
Aug. 11th 1695.

Your real Friend,

and Humble Servant,

W. CONGREVE.

To Mr. DENNIS.

NAMUR taken, and a Letter from Mr. *Dennis*, were two of the moſt agreeable Surprizes I ever met with. And nothing but the Reflection, how *dear* the *Conqueſt* will *coſt us*, I mean, the innumerable ill *Poems* it will produce, could allay

the Pleaſure. *Attila* ‡ has watched for a Victory a long time, and will not miſs this Opportunity to mortify the Day of Thankſgiving, and ſcribble away the publick Joy. The *Devil* take *Will's Coffee-houſe*. I could be the eaſieſt Man in the World under my Calamity, if it were not for ſome of the Company there; who are now the greateſt Enemies I have in the World, worſe than the Company from which I am juſt now ſtolen to write this Letter. Among the reſt is a *Country Gentleman* who dictates Politicks abundantly, for with *us*, as well as at *Old Rome*, we take *Dictators* from the *Plough*, but *ours* are *ſuch* as ought never to remove their Hands *from it*.

I am Yours, &c.

W. MOYLE.

‡ *Attila*: or, the *Hund*. A Nickname given to *Peter Motteux*.

To the SAME.

WHILE you are happy in the Politicks of the *Grave-Club*, * and the Puns of the Rabble, you have no regard to the forlorn State of your poor Friend. Before I left *London*, I feigned an hundred agreeable melancholy Pleaſures, with which I might fool away a Retirement, but now I deteſt being alone, and queſtion whether Mankind or Solitude be the fitter Subject for a Satire. Of this, I am ſure, that **** rather than be *alone* created the *****, and *Man* rather than be *alone* choſe a *Wife*. Whatever advantage I have loſt by my *Country Life*, I believe, I gained the gift of *Propheſy* in the Wilderneſs, for I foretold the *Poem* with which *Attila* has viſited us.

I am yours, &c.

W. MOYLE.

* *Two Covent-Garden* Clubs.

To

To the SAME.

TO your Buſineſs hereafter, but firſt let's have a Dance, as Mr. *Bays* ſays. When I came home from the *Weſt*, where I had paſſed a Fortnight, I found your Three Letters full of Wit and Humour. I was charmed with the Scandal you writ in the firſt, and encloſed in the laſt, *viz. Attila*'s Poem. I found the Preamble before the Poem to be like a *Sooterkin* before a *Dutch* Child. I read it over in great haſte, in hopes to be pleaſed at laſt with the end of it, but this is the firſt time I ever diſliked his Concluſion. For he threatens ſtrange things. I hope, 'tis only *in terrorem*, if not, I hope G— in his Goodneſs will ſend us a *Peace*, and prevent his *Songs* of *Triumph*. Certainly, *ſince the* D—l *was* dumb *there never was ſuch a* Poet. *I am,*

Yours, &c.

W. MOYLE.

To ***** †

Jan. 26. 1698-9.

Dear Sir,

I Will for once put on the Perſon of a *Rakehell* to oblige you, and act a Part which you know I abhor.

I, that I may ſucceſsful prove,
Transform my ſelf to what you love.

You act like a Man of Honour in oppoſing the ridiculous *Reformation* of Sir *John P——*, and in doing the utmoſt in your Station, by your Vote and Example, to countenance the crying Sins of the Nation. 'Tis generouſly done of you to aſſert the *Engliſh Birthright* of *Whoring* ſo nobly, you who repreſent the head Quarters of intrigue, the *Univerſity*. You ſhew a great deal of *Chriſtian Charity* in conſulting the Eaſe of *tender Conſciences*, who cannot come up to the modern Iniquities of the *Court*; the

† This jocoſe Letter was never before Printed.

old

old Whigs are humbly of opinion that the *Church-party* (for we allow the *Church* to be *moſt Chriſtian* in her Indulgence to *human Frailties*) ſhould have carried the *War* into the Enemy's Country, and loaded this *Fanatick-Bill* with a *Rider* againſt *Hypocriſie* and *Corruption*. You ſhould have ſowed your *Sins* juſt as the *Fanaticks* ſow their *Grants*. 'Twould have been a more decent *Interment* of the *Bill*.

Since you have *disbanded* the *Army*, and ſaved our *Liberties*, for G——d's ſake make a *thorough Reformation* of *Abuſes* crept into the *Adminiſtration*, and ſet us at eaſe in our *Pleaſures* as well as our *Properties*. Aboliſh the Tyrannical Power of *Juſtices* of *Peace*, disband their *Guards* of *Conſtables* and *Watchmen*, demoliſh their *Garriſons* of *Compters*, *Roundhouſes*, and other Badges of Slavery, which diſturb the Midnight-Riots of the Subject. Send Sir *H. C.* to *Bridewell*, and *P*—— to *Bedlam*, for I believe the poor Wretch is run *mad* with *Reformation*. Can you contrive no way in the Earth to rid the *Houſe* of his *Ghoſtly Authority?* cannot you ſerve *him* as his *Father* was ſerved by a *General* of the *Cavaliers?* If you never

never heard the Story, HUDIBRAS will tell it you.

And as *another* * of the ſame
Degree and Parts, in Arms and Fame;
That in the ſame Cauſe had engag'd,
And War with equal Conduct wag'd,
By vent'ring only but to thruſt,
His Head a Span beyond his Poſt,
B' a Gen'ral of the *Cavaliers*
Was dragg'd thro' a Window by the Ears †.

Betty Mackrell, or ſome other diſcreet Bawd ſhould demand a Conference with him in the Lobby, lug him out by the Ears, and ſend him upon a Miſſion to the *Weſt-Indies* to preach his *Morals* to Father *Hennepin*'s Nations, who are not civilized into *Lewdneſs*, nor *wiſe enough* to be *wicked*. On this ſide of the Globe he'll make no *Converts* but *ſuch* as his *Nameſake* in the *Acts* made *Eunuchs*.

Give my Service to *Dick* ***** and congratulate him upon the great Deliverance the Churches of *Covent-Garden* and

* Sir Eraſmus P——
† *Hud.* part 2d. Cant. 1.

St.

St. *James's* have obtained from the *Perſecution* which threatened them. I had forgot to ask you whether there were any Sumptuary in this *Fout Bill*, if there had, *Jack Tredenham* would have prepared a *ſaving Clauſe* for *Lobſters* and *Lampreys*; give him my Service too.

Tell *Fletcher* it was with Tears in my Eyes that I read the Account of his *Apoſtacy*: Is it poſſible that ſuch a ſurly Patriot, who all his Life long had talked, writ and rebelled for *Liberty*, ſhould all of a ſudden turn *Projector* for an *Univerſal Monarchy*. However, I deſire you to ſend me down the Pamphlet in a Letter. It is called, DISCORSI *delle* COSE *di* SPAGNA ——— *ſed a-moto quæramus ſeria ludo.* I received a very good Relation of the *laſt Victory* over the *Court*. I like the *Diviſion*, eſpecially with ſuch a *Majority*. I hope you'll print a *Liſt* to diſtinguiſh —— The *Country* likes you extreamly. My Service to all our Friends.

I am, Sir,
your moſt obliged Friend
and Servant,

W. MOYLE

VERSES
TO
WALTER MOYLE, *Eſq*;

DEAR MOYLE, bleſt Youth, whoſe forward Wit purſues
The noble Pleaſures, Reaſon bids Thee chuſe:
Reaſon, which ruling by the Laws of Senſe,
Does a juſt, eaſy Government diſpenſe;
Quitting thoſe Laws, turns Tyrant, wildly reigns,
Reveal'd by Projects of diſtemper'd Brains.
Dear MOYLE, what ſhall I fancy now employs
Thy time? What prudent, what well-choſen Joys?
Doſt thou with ſpeed the flying Fair purſue?
Beauty leads on, and Pleaſure is in view;
Oh! boldly follow, ſhe's reſerv'd for you.
Retiring Modeſty, Triumphant Love,
In Her warm Breaſt, a doubtful Combat move:
She yields, ſhe yields, I ſee the bluſhing Maid
Storm'd from without by You, within betray'd
By her own Heart, no longer can hold out,
The Victor enters now the long maintain'd Redoubt.
Or to this Joy do choiceſt Books ſucceed,
Which you with Judgment chuſe, with Judgment read?

Search-

Searching the ancient Stores of *Greece* and *Rome*,
And bring from them their uſeful Treaſures home.
Or does ſome honeſt, ſome delightful Friend,
With eaſy Converſation recommend
The ſparkling Wine, while Wit and Mirth attend?
CONGREVE, the matchleſs riſing Son of Fame,
Whom all Men envy, tho' they dare not blame.
HOPKINS, whoſe Mind and Muſe both void of Art,
Gives him a well fix'd Title in your Heart.
DUNKAN, whoſe Wit and Reaſon each Man loves,
Charms us like Beauty, and like Books improves.
EYTON, whom Vice becomes, of Vigour full,
Foe to the Godly, Covetous, and Dull.
Thus while in Town ſo early you poſſeſs,
Whatever perfects Life and Happineſs;
And in their Turns do all the Pleaſures know,
Which Learning, Beauty, Friendſhip can beſtow,
In this Retreat, I'm pleas'd in following You
In a wild Maze of Thoughts; and ſo, dear Friend Adieu.

1693.

A. HAMMOND.

TO

WALTER MOYLE, *Eſq*;

TO you, *dear Youth*, in theſe unpoliſh'd Strains
And rural Notes, your exil'd Friend complains.
With pain, 'tis tedious Baniſhment I bear
From the dear Town and You, the deareſt there.
Hourly,

Hourly, my Thoughts preſent before my view,
Thoſe charming Joys, which once, alas! I knew,
In Wine, in Love, in Friendſhip, and in You.
Now Fortune has withdrawn that pleaſing Scene,
We muſt not for a while appear again.
Here, in its ſtead, unuſual Proſpects riſe,
That dull the Fancy, and diſguiſe the Eyes.
Bleak *Groves* of *Trees*, ſhook by the *Northern Winds*,
And heavy Aſpects of unthinking Hinds.
No beauteous Nymph to fire the Youthful Heart,
No Swain inſtructed in the Muſes Art.
Hammond alone, is from this Cenſure free,
Hammond, who makes the ſame Complaint with me;
Alike on both, the want of You does ſtrike,
Which both repine at, and lament alike;
While here I ſtay, condemn'd to deſart Fields,
Deny'd the Pleaſure which the City yields,
My Fortune, by the chance of War depreſt,
Loſt at theſe Years, when I might uſe them beſt.
To crown your Youth, conſpiring Graces join,
Honour and Learning, Wealth and Wit are Thine.
With Charms united ev'ry Heart you move,
Eſteem in Men, in vanquiſh'd Virgins Love.
Tho' clogg'd with Cares, I drag my reſtleſs Hours,
I envy not the flowing eaſe of Yours;
Still may they roll with circling Pleaſures on,
Nor You neglect to ſeize them as they run.
Time haſtes away with an impetuous flight,
And all its Joys ſoon vaniſh from our ſight,
Which we ſhall mourn, we us'd not while we might.
In full delights, let ſprightly *Southern* live,
With all that Women, and that Wine can give.
May gen'rous *Wycherley*, all Sufferings paſt,
Enjoy a well deſerv'd Eſtate at laſt.

Fortune

Fortune, with Merit, and with Wit, be Friends,
And ſure, tho' ſlowly make a large amends.
Late, very late, may the great *Dryden* die,
But when deceas'd may *Congreve* riſe as high.
To him, my Service, and my Love commend,
The greateſt Wit, and yet the trueſt Friend.
Accept, dear *Moyle*, a Letter writ in haſte,
Which my impatient Friendſhip dictates faſt.
Friendſhip, like Love unartfully expreſt,
Yet by their being ſo, they're both ſhown beſt.
Each, no cold Leiſure for our Thoughts affords,
But at a heat, ſtrikes out our eager Words.
The Soul's Emotion, moſt her Truth aſſures,
Such as I feel, while I ſubſcribe me Your's,

1693.

C. HOPKINS.

To ANTHONY HAMMOND *Eſq;*

AS when a Prophet feels the God retir'd,
By whom He had a long time lain inſpir'd,
His Eyes no more with ſacred Fury roll,
No more Divine Impulſes move his Soul.
The *Fires* that warm'd him, with the God are gone,
The Deity withdrawn, the Charm is done.
So now my Muſe can no more Rapture boaſt,
Since you went hence, Her Inſpiration's loſt.
Robb'd of her Flame, all languiſhing ſhe lies,
And, Swan-like, only Sings, before ſhe Dies.
But you, my Friend, to different Fortune move,
And crown your Days with Wine, your Nights with Love.
In flowing Bliſs, unmeaſur'd Time you waſte,
Your raviſhing Delights for ever laſt.

Long,

Long, long e'er this, you've often been poſſeſt
Of all your Wiſh could frame to make you bleſt.
When *You*, and *Southern*, *Moyle*, and *Congreve* meet,
The beſt, good Men, with the beſt natur'd Wit,
Good Wine, good Company, the better Feaſt,
And whene'er *Wycherley* is preſent, beſt.
Then, then your Joys are perfectly compleat,
And Sacred Wit is at the nobleſt height.
Oh! how I long to be allow'd to ſhare,
And gain a Fame, by mingling with you there,
The Country now can be no longer borne,
And ſince you firſt are gone, I muſt return;
I come, I come, dear *Hammond*, to purſue
Pleaſures I cannot know, depriv'd of you.
Reſtleſs, as Lovers, 'till we meet, I live,
And envy this, becauſe 'twill firſt arrive.
With Joy I learnt *Dryden* deſigns to crown
All the great things he has already done.
No Loſs, no Change of Vigour, can he feel;
Who dares attempt the Sacred *Mantuan* ſtill:
Adieu———
And yet methinks, I owe too much to you,
To part ſo coldly with a bare Adieu.
But what Requital can I make you more?
You've put all Recompence beyond my Power.
Fain would my grateful Thoughts contrive a way,
For ev'ry generous Man's in pain to pay.
Tis not a ſuitable Return I give,
Yet what it is, my beſt-good Friend, receive;
Take the ſincere beſt Wiſhes of my Soul;
Congreve, and *Moyle*, and *You*, poſſeſs it whole.
Take all the Thanks, a Country-Muſe can ſend,
And in accepting this, oblige your Friend,

1694. C. HOPKINS.

PHILOPATRIS:

OR, THE

LEARNER.

Tranſlated by Dr. DRAKE.

The ARGUMENT.

The Deſign of this Dialogue is a Compliment to Trajan *on ſome Victory in the* Eaſt. *He attempts to laſh the Gods of the Gentiles, and the Chriſtian Religion.*

I muſt, as well as Mycillus, *apologize to the Reader for ſome part of the Tranſlation, ſince the Original is extremely obſcure; but whether on Deſign by the unknown Author, or the Negligence of the Tranſcribers, I ſhall not determine.*

I might likewiſe apologize for tranſlating it at all, as being thought to reflect on the primitive Chriſtianity; but firſt it is not

very evident that it is deſigned to expoſe that; and next, the Weakneſs of thoſe Things which ſeem to reflect that way, are more for the Advantage than Diſſervice of Religion.

INTERLOCUTORS.

Triephon, Critias, Cleolaus,

Trieph. WHAT's the matter, *Critias?* you ſeem to have metamorphoſed your ſelf into another Shape, contracting your Eye-brows backward; you ſeem to be wholly loſt in Thought, and retired into the inmoſt Cabinet of your Breaſt, reeling and tumbling Head over Heels, as if, as the Poet terms it, you were playing *Chriſtmas Gambols*, while a Paleneſs overſpreads your Face. Have you any where ſeen *Cerberus* himſelf? or *Hecate* coming among us from Hell below? or have you unexpectedly fallen on the View of any of the Gods? But indeed you ought not to be affected in this manner; were all this true, or had you ſeen the World ſinking into a Deluge of Water, as it did in the time

time of *Ducalion.* What hoa! good *Critias!* I ſpeak to you? What the duce do you not hear me when I call ſo loud, and am ſo near? What are you angry with me? or are you deaf? or do you ſtay till I give you a good thump on the Back?

Critias. Alas, my good Friend *Triephon,* I have been hearing ſuch a Diſcourſe ſo monſtrous and ſo variouſly handled, and was repeating thoſe Trifles in my Memory, and ſhutting up my Ears, that I may never again hear ſuch Stuff, but that I may grow Stone with too much Madneſs, and like the *Niobe* of old furniſh the Poet with a new Fable. I had fallen headlong down a Precipice, my Head turning round with a certain Vertigo, had not you, my Friend, called ſo loudly on me; and ſo the ſame Story might be made of me as was of *Cleombrotus*'s leap into the Sea, as if he ſought to find that Immortality he had read of in *Pluto*'s Diſcourſe of the Soul.

Trieph. What wonderful Appearances or Narrations are theſe, that make ſo ſtrange an Impreſſion on *Critias?* For how many mad Poets, and juggling Philoſophers, have attempted to touch your Mind in vain, while

you have thought all their Endeavours meer Trifles, not worth minding?

Critias. I prithee *Triephon* be quiet a little, and trouble me no farther; for you are not to be contemned or neglected by me.

Trieph. Nay, I am ſenſible that what you revolve thus in your Mind is neither a ſlight Matter, nor eaſily liable to Contempt, but I muſt needs ſay that it is an Arcanum, a mighty Myſtery. For your Colour is of a ſort of blewiſh Hue, and not being able to ſtand on your Legs, but tumbling Heels over Head, make you remarkable enough. But I prithee take a little Breath from the Evils that perſecute you, and diſembogue thoſe Trifles, that you may free yourſelf from any Pain in the Stomach.

Critias. But alas! good *Triephon*, get you ſpeedily at the diſtance at leſt of an Acre of Ground from me, leſt the Spirit ſhould ſnatch you up on High, and being lifted above the Earth you become an Apparition amongſt Men, and then falling down ſome where or other, you give the name of *Triephoneante* to ſome Sea, as *Icarus* did to the *Icarian* of old. For what I have heard this Day

Day from thoſe thrice execrable Sophiſts, have damnably turned my Stomach.

Trieph. Well, I'll get me back to what diſtance you pleaſe; do you but take ſome Breath from theſe Evils.

Critias. Fy, fy, fy, fy, thoſe Trifles! alas! alas! alas! alas! Evil Conſultations! Woe! woe! woe! woe! to vain Hope.

Trieph. Good Gods! What an Evaporation was here? what a Swelling? what a Tumour was there concealed within? what Tumults, what Struggles, what Agitations have ſhook thy Bowels? Why you have been all over Ears, that you have taken ſo much in as a Man would imagine you heard even at your Fingers ends.

Critias. But it is very admirable and ſurprizing, Oh, *Triephon*, that I ſhould hear at my Fingers ends when you found my Belly a perfect Bag-pipe, and my Head bringing forth; and the Male-nature in effect paſſing into the Female, and then be changed from Women into Birds: And in ſhort, life it ſelf is a prodigious thing, if we may believe the Poets.

But ſince I have met you in this place, let us ſtep yonder into that *Plantane* Shade,

which baniſhes the Heat of the Sun Beams, and the Blackbirds and Swallows with their loud Notes enliven the Ears, by the Conſort of the Birds, and the Waters gently falling o'er the Pebbles, ſooth our Minds with pleaſing Murmurs.

Trieph. Thither let us go with all my Heart, O *Critias!* But I am afraid leſt what you have heard be ſome ſort of Charm or Enchantment, and that that, which put you into ſuch a Conſternation ſhould turn me into a Peſtle, or the Bar of a Door, or ſome other inanimate thing.

Critias. As the heavenly *Jupiter* ſhall love me, you ſhall have no ſuch Thing befal you.

Trieph. Poh, you have now frighted me more, now you have atteſted *Jupiter:* For how can he puniſh you, and you not keep your Oath? For I ſuppoſe you are not ignorant of the Nature and Qualifications of this your *Jupiter?*

Critias. What ſay you, Man? Why can't *Jupiter* ſtrike me with his Thunder into Hell? Don't you know that he threw down all the Gods from that Celeſtial Floor? And thus he ſtruck *Salmoneus* with a Thunder-Bolt, for preſuming to mimick his Thunder?

And

And thus can't he puniſh every one as he's ſaucy now? *Homer*, and the reſt of the Poets, make him the Vanquiſher of the *Titans*, and Slayer of the Giants, and as ſuch, celebrate him in their Verſes.

Trieph. 'Tis true, *Critias*, you have run over all theſe old Tales which you have heard of the Atchievements of *Jupiter*, but if it be not too diſagreeable to you, I deſire you wou'd a little liſten to me. Has not his Luſt turn'd him into a Swan, a Satire and a Bull: And had not your Thundering, and Thunder-Bolt darting *Jupiter* ſcampered away with his Whore on his Back with Expedition; I don't know but he might ſtill have been drawing the Plough, if he had fallen into the Hands of ſome of the Farmers of that Country; and ſo inſtead of darting of Thunder-Bolts, he would be himſelf driven on with a Goad. Is not the Story of this Jaunt, to the Country of the *Ethiops*, a very ſcandalous Thing, when it makes him feaſting with thoſe ſooty-faced Gentlemen for a matter of twelve Days together ſoaking his Gills in Sack, eſpecially when ſo long a Beard betrays him to be at years of Diſcretion; but I am really aſhamed, and bluſh

to repeat his Frolick of the Eagle and *Ida*, and that he uſed to be impregnated all over his Body

Critias. Well then, ſhall I atteſt *Apollo*, who is both a great Prophet, and an admirable Phyſician.

Trieph. Do you mean that vain and lying Fortune-teller, who by obſcure and ambiguous Anſwers impoſed on and ruined *Cræſus*, and the *Salamines*, and innumerable others.

Critias. What ſay you to *Neptune?* who not only carries the *Trident*, but has a Voice ſo loud and terrible in War, that it exceeds that of a thouſand, nay, of ten thouſand Men; and is beſides called the Shaker of the Earth, or cauſe of Earthquakes.

Trieph. What! mean you that Adulterer, who formerly raviſhed and debauched *Tyro*, the Daughter of *Salmoneus*, and whores on ſtill, and is the Defender and Patron of ſuch ſort of Vices? For when *Mars* was by *Vulcan* caught in Charms and Bands which could not be looſed, while all the other Gods had not really ſo much Braſs in their Face as to ſpeak one word for him; *Equeſtrian Neptune*, ſpight of his Gravity, got him untied and ſet at Liberty, falling into abundance

abundance of ſham Tears, like a Child in fear of his Maſter, or the old Wives, when they would impoſe on the little Girls; with theſe, and earneſt Prayers, he preſſed the poor Cuckold *Vulcan*, till he yielded to undo the Chains of *Mars*, and ſet him free. And that limping Deity's Bowels yearning at the Sobs of the ancient God, as *Neptune* complied with his Prayer, and delivered his Cuckold-Maker, which is a proof that he is not only a Whore-maſter, but a Preſerver of Whore-maſters.

Critias. Well, what think you of *Mercury?*

Trieph. For ſhame, not a word of that hardned Thief, and Cheat, and the officious Pimp to all *Jupiter*'s moſt ſalacious Hours; and himſelf mad in the Purſuit of his libidinous Adulteries.

Critias. At this Rate I find I have but little hopes that you will accept of *Venus*, or *Mars*, ſince you have already fallen foul on them. Diſmiſſing therefore theſe obnoxious Deities, I ſhall venture to propoſe *Minerva*, a Virgin Goddeſs, and armed, and terrible, with the *Gorgon*'s Head affixt to her Boſom, the Giant-Killer. I can't imagin

that you have any thing to ſay againſt her; you can't ſay black is her Eye.

Trieph. Yes, I have ſomething to ſay to her too, if you will anſwer me a few Queſtions.

Critias. Speak your mind freely.

Trieph. Tell me then, good *Critias,* what is the Uſe of this *Gorgon*'s Head? and why is this placed on the Goddeſs's Boſom, for Ornament or Uſe?

Critias. As a terrible Sight, and a Defence againſt any evil Thing; beſides that, with this ſhe terrifies the Enemy, and drives the doubtful Victory to which ſide ſhe pleaſes.

Trieph. Is it then by this monſtrous Head that the azure-ey'd Maid becomes invincible?

Critias. Certainly.

Trieph. Why then don't we rather chuſe to pay our Sacrifices of Bulls and Goats to thoſe which preſerve and defend, than to thoſe who are only preſerved and defended, that ſo they would render us invincible as well as *Minerva?*

Critias. Oh! Sir, you don't conſider the Matter well, theſe Things have not the Power to defend one at a diſtance, as the Gods

have, but are only a Security to thoſe that bear them about them.

Trieph. But pray what is the very Thing of the *Gorgon*'s Head? for being intirely ignorant my ſelf of the Matter, I deſire to be informed by you who have found out thoſe Things, and are arrived to a Perfection in your Knowledge in them; for I am indeed ignorant of all the Stories which are told about of her.

Critias. Why *Gorgon* was a moſt beautiful and lovely Maid: But when *Perſeus* had by Treachery cut off her Head, as a learned Perſon, and famous for Art-Magick, conjured by certain Verſes and Charms this Head, and then the Gods took it to themſelves, and preſerved it as a Buckler, or Defence.

Trieph. This noble Maxim till now was a Secret to me, that is, that the Gods ſtand in need of the Aſſiſtance of Men. But of what Uſe was ſhe when alive? ſhe played the Whore about in Taverns, or in Private, and then pretended herſelf a Virgin!

Critias. No, by the *unknown God at Athens*, ſhe remained a pure Virgin to the very Minute ſhe loſt her Head.

Treiph.

Trieph. So that if a Man cut off a Virgin's Head it will be a Bugbear to the Multitude? For when I was in *Crete*, I ſaw abundance of Virgins beheaded, and had I known this Secret before, I could have brought you a whole Cargo of *Gorgons*, and ſo made you an invincible General. The Poets then and Orators would have given me the Preference to *Perſeus*, as having found abundance of *Gorgons*, whereas he found but one. But having accidentally mentioned *Crete* by the By, I yet remember that there were People that ſhewed me the *Sepulchre* of your *Jupiter*, and the obſcure Vallies which nouriſhed his Mother, where the Shrubs were yet green.

Critias. But you did not know the Incantation and Sacrifices which were to be made uſe of?

Trieph. If theſe Things had been done by Incantations, they might perhaps have called her out of the Shades below, to reviſit the cheerful Day; but theſe are Trifles, Follies, Fables, continued by the Poets to deceive. Let us therefore paſs her likewiſe.

Critias. Well, but will you not admit *Juno*, *Jove*'s Siſter and his Wife?

Trieph. Not a word of her, I beſeech you, that we may not reflect on her abominable Conjunction with her Brother; fy, fly from her with the utmoſt Speed.

Critias. Whom then ſhall I invoke?

Trieph. God reigning on High, Great, Etherial, Eternal, the Son of his Father, the Spirit proceeding from the Father, One out of Three, and Three out of One. This you muſt eſteem *Jupiter*; this you muſt look on as God.

Critias. What! you teach me Numeration, and yours is an Arithmetical Oath. For you number like *Nicomachus Geraſenus:* For I profeſs I don't underſtand what you ſay,— *Three One, One Three:* What do you mean, that *Pythagoric* Commander of Four, or Eight, or Thirty?

Trieph. Hold your Peace, for what I have yet to tell you, are worthy Silence. This is not the way of meaſuring the Footſteps of *Fleas*; for I will teach you what the Univerſe is, and who was before all Things, and what is the Conſtitution and Body of the World; for indeed I have met with that *Galilean* with a Pate bald behind, and an Aquiline Noſe, who cutting the liquid Air

Air penetrated into the very Third Heaven, and there learned all that was valuable and great; he renewed us by Water, and made us walk in the Steps of the Righteous, and redeemed us from the Regions of the Impious. And aſſure your ſelf if you'll liſten to me, I will truly make you a Man.

Critias. Moſt learned *Triephon,* go on with your Diſcourſe, for there is a ſort of Fear and Dread that has already ſeized me.

Trieph. Did you ever read the Comedy of *Ariſtophanes,* called the Birds?

Critias. Certainly, good Sir.

Trieph. In that you will find words to this Purpoſe:

E're yet, the World aſſum'd this beauteous Face,
Rude Chaos, *Night, and gloomy Shades took place,*
And of deep Tartarus *th' unbounded Space:*
For yet, was neither Earth nor Air, nor Pole, &c.

Critias. Your Quotation is true; but what of that?

Trieph. But there was a Light, incorruptible, inviſible, and incomprehenſible, which diſſolved the Darkneſs, and baniſhed by one word that Deformity, as that ſlow-tongu'd Gentleman has

has written: He fixt the Earth on the Waters, and ſpread the Heavens; formed the fixt Stars, and ordered the Courſe of thoſe Planets which you adore as Gods. He adorned the Earth with Flowers, and drew Man out of nothing into Being; and is now in Heaven, beholding both the Juſt and Unjuſt, and writing down in a Book the Actions of every Man: And will repay to all on the Day that he has commanded.

Critias. Do they inſert in the Book all that the Fates decree for all Men?

Trieph. I pray, good Friend *Critias*, give me an Account of theſe Fates; I'll liſten to them with a very willing Ear.

Critias. Does not the celebrated Poet *Homer* ſay,

Believe me, none their Fate ſhall e'er Eſcape?

The ſame ſpeaking of the great *Hercules*, ſays,

Herculean Force contends in vain with Fate,
Tho' to the Gods moſt dear, and Son of Jove,
Vanquiſh'd by Fate and partial Juno's Hate,
On Oëta's *top the Sting of Death did prove.*

[redacted]y,

Nay, the ſame Poet inſinuates, that our whole Life, and all the Changes of it are formed and ordained by Fate, when he ſays,

—— Where he ſhall undergo
Whatever God, or the malignant Fates
Have wove for him in their eternal Loom,
When firſt he left his Mother's general Womb.

He is of Opinion too, that Fate orders thoſe Delays of Journies in a Foreign Land, as when *Ulyſſes* ſaid,

As when King Æolus *with a gracious Smile,*
Had to his Country o're the rolling Tide
Convey'd him ſafe, but yet that Fate deny'd.

The Poet therefore proves, that all things are directed by Fate: and that *Jupiter*, rather than ſave his Son from Death at *Troy*, choſe

His bloody Tears from lofty Heaven to ſhower
For his Son's Death, beneath the Walls of Troy,
When him Patroclus *wou'd e're long deſtroy.*

Wherefore

Wherefore good *Triephon* being ſatisfied with what I have ſaid, I believe you would not ſay a word more of the *fatal Siſters*, no, tho' you had been lifted aloft with your Maſter, and been initiated in the Myſteries.

Trieph. But, my Friend *Critias*, how comes that Poet to aſſure us of a double and ambiguous Fate? ſo that if a Man does ſuch a thing, ſuch ſhall be his Fate; if he do another, another ſhall be his Fate; as, when ſpeaking of *Achilles*, he ſays,

My Mother Thetis *for white Feet renown'd,*
A double Fate for me does thus propound:
If here I ſtay beneath the Walls of Troy,
And with this Arm the Phrygian *Hoſt annoy*
I to my Country ſhall no more return,
But after Death by Fame to Heaven be borne:
If to my Country I ſhou'd baſely flie,
My Glory, Honour, and my Fame ſhou'd die;
But in their place an old inglorious Age I
ſhould enjoy.

But he ſays of *Euchenor*;

Who went to Sea not ignorant of Fate,
For Polydus *had told his future State,*

That he at home ſhou'd of Diſeaſes die,
Or ſlain by Trojans *in the* Grecian *Camp ſhou'd lie.*

Are not theſe things written by *Homer*? or are they not ambiguous, and a doubtful Deception? But if you pleaſe, I ſhall add the Speech of *Jupiter*. Did he not tell *Ægyſthus*, that if he abſtained from the Adultery with his Siſter, and the treacherous Murther of his Brother, the Fates had ordained him a long and happy Life; but that if he entertained Thoughts of committing thoſe Evils, his Death was unavoidable. After this way of foretelling, I have, my ſelf, often played the Prophet, *viz.* If you kill your Neighbour you ſhall be condemned to Death; but if you do not this Wickedneſs you will live happily;

Nor ſhou'd you thus incur a ſpeedy Fate.

By this you muſt certainly ſee, how little Correctneſs and Exactneſs there is in the Poets: nay, how oblique, uncertain, and ambiguous they are, and fixt on no certain Bottom. Throw therefore aſide all thoſe things,

things, that you may be inſerted into the Celeſtial Books of the Good.

Critias. You remember and deſcribe all Things very well, my friend *Triephon*; but pray give me leave to ask you one Queſtion: Are the Affairs and all the Tranſactions of the *Scythians* writ down in this Book?

Trieph. All, if Chriſt has been in their Country.

Critias. You make abundance of Scribes and Clerks in Heaven, to ſet down ſuch a multiplicity of Things.

Trieph. None of your Jeſts, good *Critias*; nor ſpeak any thing vile, contemptuous of the right God; but being a *Catechumen* or *Probationer*, if you deſire to live for ever, ſuffer me to influence you with what I ſay. For if he ſpread the Heavens like an Hide, and fixt the Earth and laid its Foundations on the Waters, and made Man out of Nothing, brought him into Being, and to enjoy this Light, where is the great Wonder that the Actions of all Men ſhould be entered and regiſtered in the heavenly Book? For, ſuppoſe you ſhould build a little Houſe, and ſhould get together there a great many Men-Servants, and Maid-Ser-

vants, the leaſt and moſt vile and inconſiderable thing that was done among them could never eſcape your Knowledge: How much eaſier therefore is it for that God who created all Things, to run them over, and obſerve the Deſigns and Actions of every one? For your Gods are looked on by all Men of true Knowledge, to be no more than meer Sound and Trifles of a mechanick Make.

Critias. What you ſay is very true, and in me the Fable of *Niobe* is inverted, for from a Stock and Stone, I am turned into a Man. This God therefore I propoſe to you, and ſwear by him that you ſhall not ſuffer any ill from me.

Trieph. If you love me from your Heart, and your Friendſhip be ſincere, I believe you will do me no Injury.

Nor will you think one thing, another ſay.

But to the Point, and let us at laſt hear thoſe wonderful and amazing Things which you had delivered to you, that I may likewiſe turn pale, but I will not like *Niobe* become mute and ſilent, but be metamor-

phoſed

phoſed into a Bird like *Philomela*, and chant out in a tragical Tone in the green Fields your ſurprizing Conſternation.

Critias. No, by the Son out of the Father, that ſhall not be.

Trieph. Speak therefore you that receive from the Spirit the Power and Force of ſpeaking, and I ſit here,

Waiting Achilles, *till his Song was done.*

Critias. Walking in the High-ſtreet to buy what I had occaſion for, I ſpied a great Mob got together, and whiſpering ſomething into one another's Ears; and ſo greedy of hearing they were, that they ſeemed to hang upon the Lips of thoſe that ſpoke; caſting therefore my Eyes about them, and looking carefully among them all to ſee if I could find any Friend or Acquaintance of mine, I diſcovered *Crato* the Politician, one that from a Boy had been my Friend and Companion, and intimate Acquaintance.

Trieph. I know him well, you mean the Comptroller; but what followed.

Critias. Having removed a good many with my Elbow, I made my way into the

Front of them, and after the firſt Salute placed my ſelf by him, but there was a little dwarfiſh, old, lean Scoundrel, whoſe Name was *Charicenus*, who whiſtling at his Noſe, he coughed firſt ſomething inwardly, and then ſpit out a ſort of languid unconcocted Matter, more blue and wan than Death; and after this Exordium or Prelude he began in a ſmall, whining, low Voice to ſpeak in this manner. *This Man* (as I ſaid before) *leaves the Tricks of the Overſeers and Comptrollers, and ſhall pay the Uſurers what is due to them, and all Penſions both private and publick; and will take any Pretenſion not enquiring into any Man's Art:* Nay, he went on in more bitter Trifles than theſe; but thoſe who were about him were very much delighted with his Words. There was beſides, another ſuch ſort of Fellow, whoſe Name was *Chevocharamus*, whoſe Cloak was very poliſh and dirty, without any Shoes on his Feet, or Covering to his Head, who ſpoke betwixt whiles extreamly in his Praiſe, and grinning his Applauſe. — As a certain Man who came out of the Mountains in bad Cloaths, his Head ſhaved, ſhewed me, written in *Hieroglyphick*, that is, ſecret and myſterious

myſterious Letters in the Theatre, that this Man ſhould bring an Inundation of Gold and throw it into the High-way: But, ſaid I, according to the Rules of *Ariſtander*, and *Artimedorus*, theſe your Dreams will not have ſo happy an Event; but your Debts will be encreaſed according to the proportion of your yearly Receipts; and that Fellow which was ſo rich and abounding in Gold, will be in very great need of a Farthing. But you ſeem to be lulled into a Slumber, and to be ſo full of ſtrange Viſions, as if it were Midnight, and you were placed and charmed on the Rock *Leucas*, and the Coaſt of Dreams. But I had no ſooner done, but they all with one accord burſt out into a great Laughter, as if they would choak themſelves, and contemning me as ignorant. But turning to *Crato*, I ſaid, what have I made Enquiry into all Dreams like a Madman, to uſe the Phraſe of the *Comic* Poet, and not according to *Ariſtander* and *Artimedorus?* Hold your Peace, replied he, *Critias:* For if you'll hold your Tongue, I will inform you in the moſt excellent of Sacred Rites, and let you know

all future Things: Theſe are no Dreams but Realities; and the Event you will find come to paſs in the Month called *Meſori*.

Having heard *Crato* talk at this rate, and known their fickle Mind, I bluſhed, and departed with a melancholy Countenance, abundantly accuſing *Crato*. But one of the Gang looking on me with a fierce and tyrannick Phiz, plucking me by the Coat, inſtigated by that ancient Deity, and believing I had made a Covenant with him, he perſuades unhappy me with abundance of Words to go to thoſe Deceivers and juggling Fellows, and incur the Black Day, as the Proverb has it, for he ſaid he had learnt of them all things that related to the Sacred Rites and Myſteries. And thus we paſt the Iron Gates and Brazen Entrance. Having mounted ſeveral Stairs, we got into a Houſe, illuſtrious for its Golden Roofs, like that of *Menelaus*, mentioned by *Homer*; and I took a view with Admiration of all thoſe things, which ſurprized the inſular Youth *Telemachus*. In my Entrance I ſaw not *Helena*, as he did, but a Company of palefaced Fellows, with their Faces bowed down to the Ground. When they ſaw us they were pleaſed, and

came

came from the other ſide up to us. They asked me if I brought them any ill News? for they ſeemed to wiſh for the worſt, and were pleaſed with ſorrowful and evil Events, as the Furies in the Theatre. Having joyned their Noddles together, and whiſpered among themſelves a litte while, they began to ask me theſe Queſtions: Who, what, and whence are you? What is your Country? Who were your Parents? for your Habit ſhews you to be frugal. There are very few that are frugal, as far as I can find by all my Obſervation, ſaid I. But my name is *Critias*, I am of the ſame City as you. But when thoſe ſublime Fellows, and who walk in the Air asked me what News from the World, and how the Affairs of the City and the World went, I anſwered, very well, and are very likely ſo to continue. But they with a denying Brow ſaid, you are, Sir, miſtaken in the matter, the City is in Labour with Evil, and her Birth will be miſerable. Then I replied in their way, You who are lifted above the Earth aloft, and viewing every thing as it were from on High, have eaſily attained the Knowledge of theſe things. But I pray you

you what News from above? how go Squares in the Sky? will the Sun be eclipſed, and the Moon in a perpendicular be interpoſed? will *Mars* in a Quadrangle have his Aſpect to the Sun? and *Saturn* do the ſame in a Diameter? will *Venus* and *Mercury* be in Conjunction, and beget more Hermaphrodites, with which you are pleaſed? will they ſend down impetuous vehement Rains? will they cloath the Earth in Snow, and ſcatter down Hail and Blights on the Corn? will they ſend down the Plague and Famine? is that great Receptacle of Thunder full? But they preſently gave me for an Anſwer, That there would immediately be a Change of Things; that Turmoils and Tumults were juſt coming to invade the City; and that our Armies would ſuddenly be overcome by the Enemy. Diſturbed therefore at this Cant, and ſwelling like the Hen ſet on Fire, I cryed out with a loud Voice, Oh! ye moſt miſerable of Men, be not thus puffed up with a vain Loquaciouſneſs, ſharpning and whetting your Teeth againſt Men who ſeem to have the Souls of Lions, breaking nothing but Darts and Spears, and ſhining in their Creſted Helmets; but let all your falſe

Bodings

Bodings be thrown on your own Heads, ſince in ſo vile a manner you would depreſs and run down your own native Country. For you have not heard theſe ſiniſter Events in your Journies into the Sky, nor are you ſuch expert Maſters of judicial Aſtrology, and the Fate of Affairs. But if Prophecy and Deluſion have impoſed on you, you will incur and merit the double name of Superſtition and Ignorance. Theſe are the fooliſh Inventions of Women, and old doting Haggs. For theſe are the Purſuits of Womens Cares and Sollicitudes.

Trieph. Well, and what did theſe wiſe Men of *Gotham* ſay to this, good *Critias?*

Critias. They took no manner of notice of what I ſaid, but returned to theſe their Thoughts of their own Invention, and on which they were thoroughly exerciſed. For, ſaid they, let us faſt ten Days without eating a Bit, and ſinging Hymns all the Night we ſhall dream of thoſe things.

Trieph. Well, and what Reply made you to them? For they ſeemed to promiſe a thing very ſurprizing, and of wonderful Difficulty.

Critias. You may aſſure your ſelf my Anſwer was not poor and fearful, but brisk and reaſonable.

reaſonable, I think. For what will be the common Report of you, ſaid I, by the People, and whenever you dream you deliver ſuch monſtrous Events? But they with a doggiſh kind of a Grinn lifted themſelves a little off the place where they lay; but, continued I, if theſe things are true, O you Etherial Gentlemen, you will never be able with any Security to enquire into Fatalities; but won by theſe Deluſions you will trifle your time away with what neither are or ever will be in being. But I know not by what Infatuation bewitched, you put your Faith in Dreams, and abominate what is valuable and excellent in reality. You take Delight in the Misfortune of Mankind, and do no manner of Good, and reap no Advantage from ſo great an Abomination. Diſtruſt, therefore, thoſe Foreign Imaginations, and thoſe evil and depraved Counſels, and Prophaneneſs, leſt God deliver you over to Deſtruction, for devoting your Country to Misfortunes, and ſpeak to it in adulterated and wicked Words.

But they being all of one Mind, gave me a long and ſevere Reprimand. I will, if you pleaſe, add thoſe things which they uttered, that

that almoſt turned me to a ſilent Statue, till your wholeſome Voice reſtored me to my Manhood, when I was now almoſt become a Stone.

Trieph. Hold, hold *Critias*, not a word more; dwell no longer on ſuch abominable Fooleries as theſe; for you ſee how my Belly ſwells, and I go like a Woman ready to lie in; for the words you have uttered have bit me like a mad Dog: And if I take not a Doſe of Oblivion for a ſalutiferous Medicine, they will dwell in my Memory, and haunt me at Home, and produce ſome Misfortune to me. Let us therefore quit this Diſcourſe with a Prayer, beginning from the Father, and end with that celebrated Verſe, as an Antidote againſt the Poiſon. But what do I ſee, is not that *Cleolaus* that trips it ſo faſt along there? In good earneſt it is he that is a coming to us, ſhall we call to him?

Critias. With all my Heart.

Trieph. What, hoa! *Cleolaus*, paſs not your Friends with your over-haſte, but come and let us participate if you bring any good News.

Cleo. Save ye, Gentlemen, ſave you, ye admirable Pair of Friends.

Trieph.

Trieph. What is the occaſion of your great Speed, for you ſeem quite out of Breath? is there any News more?

Cleo. *That Eye of* Perſia *once is now no more,*
Suza, *that City fam'd, can fall no lower.*
The noble Soil of rich Arabia's *Town,*
By mighty force of warlike Hands o'erthrown.

Critias. This is a Proof that God does not always neglect the Good, but increaſes their Welfare, raiſing them ſtill to a higher pitch of Fortune. But *Triephon*, we have made a noble Diſcovery; for I was very ſollicitous what I ſhould bequeath to my Children at my Death. For you know my Poverty, as I am thoroughly acquainted with your Affairs. This happy Day of our Emperor is a ſufficient Legacy for my Children; nor ſhall I ever now want Riches, or be frighted by the Peoples Murmurs and Vanity.

Trieph. Yes, *Critias*, and this Prophecy will I leave to my Children, that they ſhall ſee *Babylon* overthrown; *Egypt* reduced to Servitude; the *Perſians* under the *Roman* Yoke; and the Excurſions of the *Scythians* repreſſed,

ed, and I could wiſh entirely ſuppreſſed. But let us with our Hands lifted up to Heaven adore that unknown Deity found at *Athens*, giving him hearty Thanks that he has thought us worthy to be ſubject to ſuch a Power, and ſo much Virtue. Let us ſuffer thoſe Idiots to play the Fool, contenting our ſelves with the Adage

— *Theſe things are none of the Cares of* HIPPOCLIDES.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Did intend at the cloſe of this Volume to have inſerted a Review of Mr. MOYLE's Writings, but ſoon found it ſwelled under my Hands beyond the Compaſs of being conveniently added to this Book.

Among his *Poſthumous Works*, lately publiſhed, his *Arguments* againſt the *Thundering Legion* have already been attacked by two Antagoniſts, and it may not therefore be improper to ſee whether that *Controverſy* will be carried farther, before any *Obſervations* be made upon it.

As to the *Dialogue*, called PHILOPATRIS, though it be the Performance of another Gentleman (whoſe Abilities are well known to the learned World,) it is preſumed it will not be unacceptable to thoſe who have read ſo much Criticiſm concerning *it* in the firſt Volume of Mr. MOYLE's *Poſthumous Works* before mentioned.

It highly deſerves Notice, that the Judicious

cious and Learned Dr. *Jenkin* * obſerves, that, " The Doctrine of the *Bleſſed Trinity* " was declared to be the Doctrine of the " *Scriptures*, and objected againſt by *Hea-* " *thens* long before the Council of *Nice*; and " quotes the PHILOPATRIS, as a ſtrong Proof " of the *Truth* and the *Antiquity* of that " *Doctrine*. When, it was ſo well known " even to the *Heathens*, that they upbraid- " ed the *Chriſtians* with it in the *ſecond* " Century, for we find it then mentioned " in this *Dialogue*.

To conclude, Mr. FLETCHER of *Salton* having in ſeveral Places been mentioned by Mr. MOYLE, with due Reſpect, it has been thought adviſeable to ſubjoin the Character of that Gentleman as given us by his Countryman Mr. *Lockhart* ‡.

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* See the *Reaſonableneſs* of *Chriſtianity*. Vol. 2. page 423. the 4th Edit. 8vo.

‡ See his Memoirs *&c.* pag. 68.

Andrew Fletcher of *Salton*, in the firſt part of his Life, did improve himſelf to a great Degree by Reading and Travelling; he was always a great Admirer of both Ancient and Modern Republicks, and therefore the more diſpleaſed at ſome Steps which he thought wrong in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, whereby he drew upon himſelf the Enmity of the Miniſters of that Government, to avoid the evil Conſequences of which, he went Abroad; during which Time, his Enemies Malice ſtill continuing, he was upon ſlight frivolous Pretences ſummoned to appear before the Privy Council, and their Deſigns to ruin him being too apparent, he was ſo enraged, that he concurred, and came over with the Duke of *Monmouth*, when he invaded *England*; upon which he was Forfeited. Thereafter he came over with the Prince of *Orange*; but that Prince was not many Months in *England*, till he ſaw his Deſigns, and left him, and ever thereafter hated and appeared as much againſt him, as any in the Kingdom. Being elected a Parliament Man, in the Year 1703, he ſhewed a ſincere and honeſt Inclination towards the Honour and Intereſt of his Country. The Thoughts of

England's domineering over *Scotland*, was what his generous Soul could not away with. The Indignities and Oppreſſion *Scotland* lay under gauled him to the Heart. So that in his *Learned and elaborate Diſcourſes* *, he expoſed them with undaunted Courage, and pathetical Eloquence. He was bleſſed with a Soul, that hated and deſpiſed whatever was mean and unbecoming a Gentleman, and was ſo ſtedfaſt to what he thought right, that no Hazard nor Advantage, no not the univerſal Empire, nor the Gold of *America*, could tempt him to yield or deſert it. And I may affirm, that in all his Life he never once purſued a Meaſure with the Proſpect of any Bye-end to himſelf, no farther than he judged it for the common Benefit and Advantage of his Country. He was Maſter of the *Engliſh*, *Latin*, *Greek*, *French*, and *Italian Languages*, and well verſed in Hiſtory, the Civil Law, and all kinds of Learning; and as he was univerſally accompliſhed, he employed his Talents for the Good of Mankind. He was a ſtrict and nice Obſerver of all the Points of Honour, and his Word Sacred, and

* Printed in 2 Volumes 8vo.

brav

brave as his Sword, and had ſome Experience in the Art of War, having in his younger Years been ſome time a Volunteer in both the Land and Sea Service. In his Travels he had ſtudied, and came to underſtand the reſpective Intereſts of the ſeveral Princes and States of *Europe*. In his private Converſation affable to his Friends, (but could not endure to converſe with thoſe he thought Enemies to their Country) and free of all manner of Vice. He had a penetrating, clear and lively Apprehenſion, but ſo extreamly wedded to his own Opinions, that there were few (and thoſe too muſt be his beloved Friends, and of whom he had a good Opinion) he could endure to Reaſon againſt him, and did for the moſt part ſo cloſely and unalterably adhere to what he advanced (which was frequently very ſingular) that he would break with his Party before he would alter the leaſt Jot of his Scheme and Maxims; and therefore it was impoſſible for any ſet of Men, that did not give up themſelves to be abſolutely directed by him, to pleaſe him, ſo as to carry him along in all Points. And thence it came to paſs, that he often in Parliament ſtuck cloſe to the *Country Party*, and was their *Cicero*.

He

He was, no doubt, an Enemy to all *Monarchical Governments*, at leaſt thought they wanted to be much reformed; but I do very well believe, his Averſion to the *Engliſh* and the Union was ſo great, in Revenge to them, he would have ſided with the *Royal Family*; but as that was a Subject not fit to be entered upon with him, this is only a Conjecture from ſome Inuendo's I have heard him make; but ſo far is certain, he liked, commended, and converſed with *High-Flying Tories* more than any other ſet of Men, acknowledging them to be the beſt Countrymen, and of moſt Honour, Integrity, and Ingenuity. To ſum up all, he was a learned, gallant, honeſt, and, every other way, well accompliſhed Gentleman, and if ever a Man propoſes to ſerve and merit well of his Country, let him place his Courage, Zeal, and Conſtancy as a Pattern before him, and think himſelf ſufficiently applauded and rewarded, if he obtains the Character of being like *Andrew Fletcher* of *Salton*.

On

On the revived Controverſy of the *Thundering Legion.*

SInce *Whiſton* and *Woolſton* their Shafts have let fly,
To *Catechiſe* Truth and *Confirm* an old Lye;
Would make *Thunder*, *Hail*, *Light'ning* for *Miracles* paſs,
And whoe'er disbelieves, —— is accounted an Aſs,
The *Church-Cant* let's reverſe then, and own the true *Foyle*,
Of *Religion*, is *Reaſon*; and found in a MOYLE.

Errata & *Corrigenda.*

In the Life of Mr. *Moyle.*

PAge. 7. line. 16. *for*, and, *read* as. p. 10. l. 8. *for Proandcopius*, *r. Procopius* and. p. 34. l. 8. —— *r.* Elements of all of them. p. 41. l. 11. *Dele the firſt* and. p. 45. l. 17. *for* paid, *r.* exchanged.

In the *Eſſay* on the *Lacedæmonian* Government.

Pag. 56. l. 19. *for* Perſon, *r.* other. p. 63. l. 13. the *Roſe* or the *Three-Tuns*, refer to thoſe Taverns in *Cambridge.*

In LUCIAN of *Sacrifices.*

P. 89. l. 25. *for* Horſes, *r. Horæ*, or, Hours.

In the *Argument* againſt a *Standing-Army.*

P. 159. l. 5. *for* we, *r.* our Iſland. Ibid. l. 6. —— *r. Inſuperabilis.* p. 165. l. 14. —— *r.* Thirty five Thouſand. p. 166. l. 16. —— *r.* equal to that from which *Moſes* redeemed the People of *Iſrael.*

In the LETTERS, *&c.*

P. 221. In the Note, for a Play called The *Unhappy Marriage. r.* The *Unhappy Kindneſs*, or, a *Fruitleſs Revenge.* p. 225. l. 23. the *new Lord* there hinted at, was, *Charles Montague* Eſq; who was created Baron *Halifax*, *Decemb. 4th* 1700.

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N. B. The Letter L. refers to Mr. Moyle's Life.

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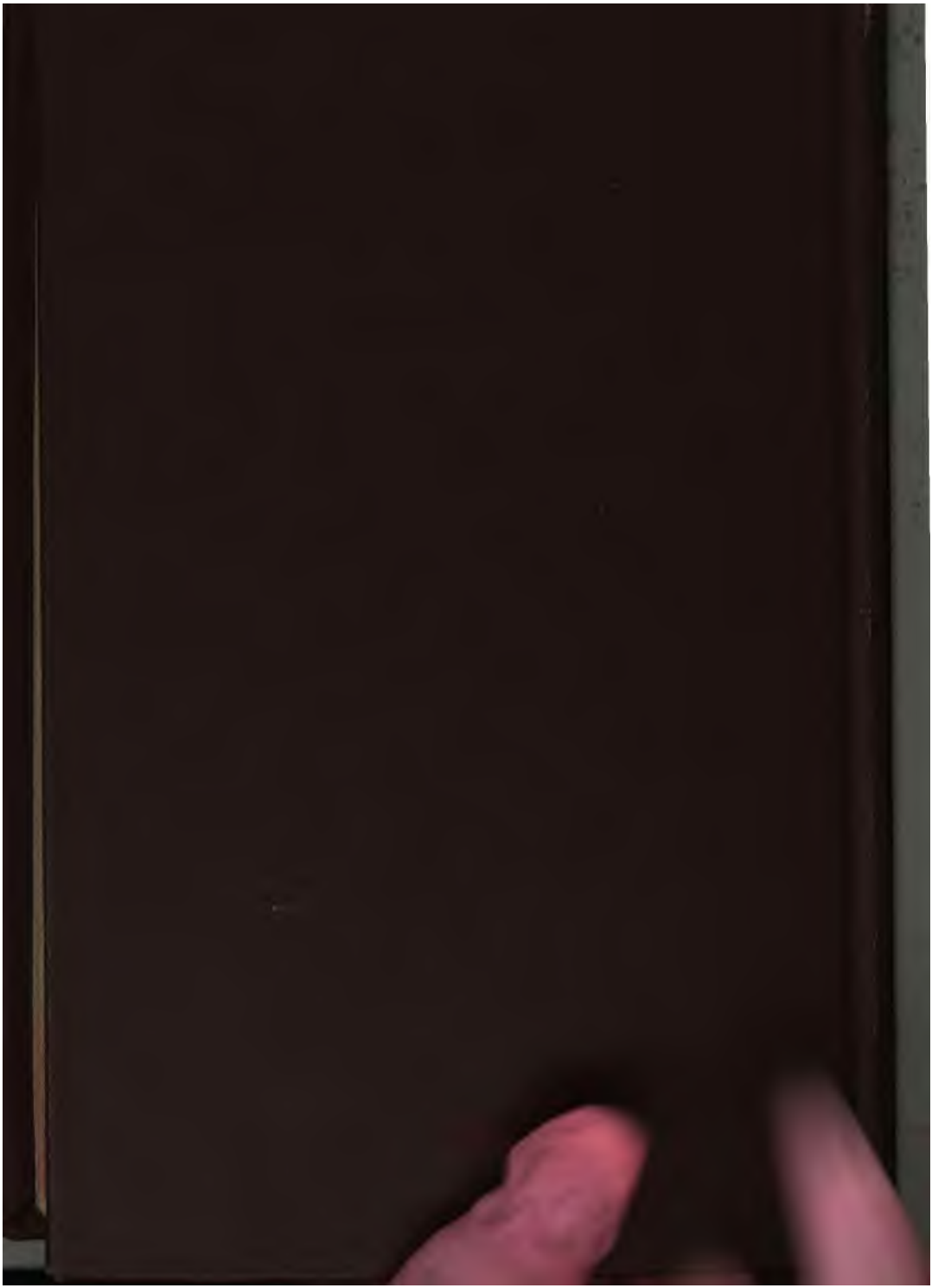
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